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Particular and Purposeful Visions: How the Richmond School of Social Work Engaged the Nation and World from 1917 to 1939

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**Particular and Purposeful Visions:
How the Richmond School of Social Work
Engaged the Nation and World From 1917 to 1939**

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Bumpass, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, The College of William and Mary, 2008

**A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

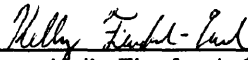
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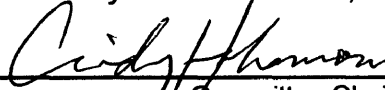
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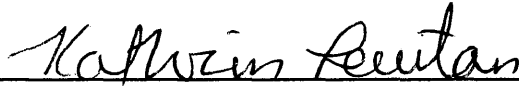


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ABSTRACT PAGE

In light of the uncertainty within the field of social welfare, the fledgling status of social work as a profession, and the stigma attached to the South, legitimacy was an underlying concern at the Richmond School that led staff and students to attempt to justify social welfare, professional social work, the South, and the school. The case for legitimacy was made in the student newspaper, the students' master's theses, and the school's promotional literature, and it brought the school into a figurative and active engagement of the nation and world from 1917 to 1939. The individuals at the Richmond School used their knowledge of the past and present to construct purposeful visions of the wider world, placing themselves in social welfare traditions and contemporary professional conversations. They supported this figurative engagement of the nation and world with significant actions, participating in national and international social welfare and professional social work networks.

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PARTICULAR AND PURPOSEFUL VISIONS

HOW THE RICHMOND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK ENGAGED THE NATION AND WORLD FROM 1917 TO 1939

November 17, 1933, marked the beginning of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health's¹ annual Community Fund fundraising campaign. The student newspaper, *The Atlas*, reported the kickoff as an occasion worthy of "trumpet blares and gun salutes."² Though such fanfare was absent, in the week preceding the campaign's start, the school hosted the Reverend Charles W. Sheerin of Grace and Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, who delivered a rousing address to stir the student body to action. Sheerin related the Community Fund drive to an anecdote regarding his time in New York City:

He was driving his automobile along one of the streets of New York City, completely unaware of the fact that the traffic lights were placed so many blocks apart and that the one nearest him was the one he should be guided by. He watched a signal several blocks ahead and unknowingly drove through a red light. A big, New York policeman hailed him and reminded him in no uncertain terms of his error. When Mr. Sheerin, explaining the reason for his mistake, mentioned that he was from Richmond, he was told "to go back to the country."³

The lesson Sheerin wanted his audience to learn was "that many people are looking so far ahead that they neglect to see the immediate need. It is splendid to

¹ In future references to the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health I will refer to the school as the Richmond School of Social Work or the Richmond School because the School of Social Work is the focus of this study. Social work and public health nursing were two distinct courses of study within the school. This paper focuses on the Richmond School of Social Work from its start in 1917 until 1939. This study stops at 1939 because at this time the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health was restructured and renamed the Richmond Professional Institute (RPI).

² "School Community Fund Drive Begins Friday, November 17th," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), November 17, 1933, 1.

³ "School Community Fund Drive Begins Friday, November 17th," 1.

have an ideal and work toward it, but, in the meantime it is only right that you support the best plan that has been arrived at up to that time.”⁴

Sheerin intended his story to serve as a reflection on the work of the Community Fund and to communicate to the student body how important it was for them to participate in the fundraising efforts of this charity. Yet one cannot help but wonder if this anecdote struck a particularly deep cord within his audience at the Richmond School of Social Work.

The students, staff, and supporters of the Richmond School perceived a world in need. They were vexed by the plight of impoverished families; dependent, delinquent, and neglected children; unemployed and disabled fathers; widowed, deserted, and unmarried mothers; and the mentally ill. They believed that professional social work would have a vital role in the alleviation, cure, and prevention of the problems that marred society. Yet how professional social work would help achieve this goal was not clear. In the early twentieth century, social work was itself an emerging profession in the United States and the world. Scholars, students, social work practitioners, and policy makers the world over were vigorously debating among themselves social problems and the means to address them. As scholars, students, and social work practitioners the individuals affiliated with the Richmond School were not unlike Sheerin as he drove along the streets of New York City, unsure of which light to heed.

This confusion and uncertainty within the social welfare field was further complicated at the Richmond School by the anxiety stemming from the school’s identity as a southern institution and the stigma attached to the South. The South

⁴ “School Community Fund Drive Begins Friday, November 17th,” 1 and 4.

was perceived by the rest of the nation as backward. With respect to social welfare, this meant the South was forever in the shadow of the great industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest. And southerners were well aware of this regional stigma. The specter of the “big, New York policeman” with his admonition “to go back to the country” was an image that likely resonated with an audience at a southern institution like the Richmond School.

In light of the uncertainty within the field of social welfare, the fledgling status of professional social work, and the stigma of the South, much of the written record of the Richmond School can be read as an argument to establish the legitimacy of social welfare, professional social work, the Richmond School, and the South. This argument was made largely in the student newspaper, the theses of master’s degree candidates, and the course catalogs and other promotional materials of the school, and was, for the most part, an intellectual enterprise supported by significant real world actions. While making the case for legitimacy, the Richmond School engaged the nation and world through particular and purposeful visions of the past and present and participated in national and international social welfare networks. The written record of the Richmond School thus reveals historical intersections between local, regional, national, and international elements, the study of which can open the door to new and underdeveloped perspectives within the field of welfare history.

TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY: OPENING NEW DOORS IN SOCIAL WELFARE HISTORY

In the late 1950s and 1960s, social work educators and social historians began to develop the field of social welfare history.⁵ As a result, early social welfare history was heavily influenced by the perspectives and objectives of professional social workers and scholars interested in social welfare and reform. Scholarship at this time focused on the professionalization of social work and social welfare administration and policy. Charitable institutions, orphanages, asylums, reformatories, and settlement houses were popular topics of study.

Developments in contemporary social welfare policy and historical methodology have shaped the directions in which social welfare history has since gone. In light of the social upheaval and counterculture movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s, social welfare historians explored the motivation behind private and public social welfare initiatives, questioning whether these activities were a middle and upper class attempt to exert social control or an effort to further democracy and economic opportunity.⁶ Also in the 1970s, some social

⁵ The following broad trajectory of social welfare history is a synthesis of Clarke A. Chambers, "Toward a Redefinition of Welfare History," *Journal of American History* 73 (September 1986): 407–33, esp. 407 and 411–12 and Elna C. Green, introduction to *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830–1930*, ed. Green (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1999), vii–xxvi, esp. viii–ix. I have supplemented Chambers and Green with observations from my own historiographic research for this paper, which was broadly focused on child, maternal, and family welfare.

Chambers used his historiographic survey of social welfare history to argue that, under the influence of social work educators and practitioners' professional objectives, social welfare history remained largely unaffected by the methodological contributions of the new social history of the 1970s. He pointed to social history as a means to revitalize welfare history. Green, writing over a decade after Chambers, was able to incorporate the influence social history eventually had on welfare history.

⁶ These works, especially those touching on child and family welfare, often emphasized the coercive, disciplinary nature of social welfare policies aimed at women, children, and families, which were designed to monitor, police, and normalize the lives of impoverished families that did not conform to middle class standards of family life. Examples of studies reflecting the social control argument that emerged from this development in social welfare history include Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston: South End Press, 1988); Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

welfare historians abandoned the traditional top-down analysis in favor of the bottom-up perspective employed in the methodology of the new social history.⁷ This allowed social welfare historians to explore the subject from the client's perspective and to incorporate the role of gender, class, race, and ethnicity in social welfare history.⁸

In the late 1980s and early 1990s social welfare historians, inspired by contemporary scholarly and popular interest in the subjects of state formation and economic globalization, turned their attention to the origins of welfare policy. This led some scholars to adopt a comparative approach to the study of social welfare history.⁹ American exceptionalism—the idea (with respect to social

1981); Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1880–1935* (New York: The Free Press, 1994); Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986); Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977); Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885–1920* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995); and Andrew J. Polsky, *The Rise of the Therapeutic State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁷ A traditional top-down analysis examines upper-level policy formation and reform movements. The sources for this type of study are some of the most accessible because they tend to be well documented, including legal statutes, professional and reform organization records, and newspapers and other publications. Examples of this type of study include Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*; John F. McClymer, *War and Welfare: Social Engineering in America, 1880–1925* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980); and Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁸ The bottom-up analysis is harder to conduct because it is less well documented. There are few sources that capture the clients' own words, thoughts, feelings, and perspectives. Some historians have attempted to look beyond the biases in social worker case files to get at the client perspective. These include Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880–1960* (New York: Viking, 1988); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Raising a Baby the Government Way: Mothers' Letters to the Children's Bureau, 1915–1932* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986); and Beverly Staudum, *Poor Women and Their Families: Hard Working Charity Cases, 1900–1930* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1992). Works in this vein often highlight client agency, or the ways in which clients worked within welfare structures to achieve their own objectives.

⁹ Examples of comparative studies within social welfare history include: Thomas Katsaros, *The Development of the Welfare State in the Western World* (New York: University Press of America, 1995) [Katsaros examined the welfare state in Europe and the United States but did not draw connections between the development of the welfare state in one nation or region with another.]; and Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of the Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993) [This is a collection of essays

welfare history) that American welfare history and the development of the American welfare state are unique and entirely distinct—is a recurring theme. American exceptionalism persists even when the American welfare state is compared against other nations, such as those of Europe, which are seen as possessing more comprehensive and advanced welfare systems.¹⁰

While comparative perspectives are a newer development in the field of social welfare history, it is important to note that there is precedent for studying social welfare in an international and comparative context. Since the 1930s, a segment of social work practitioners and educators, often those affiliated with the International Council on Social Welfare (ICSW) and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW), have been interested in international social work and social work education. Some of these individuals, such as Katherine Kendall and Alice Salomon, have published works on the subject.¹¹

exploring the emergence of the welfare state through the lens of gender in the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Australia, and Sweden. The collection of essays itself offers implicit comparison while some essays within the book offer explicit comparisons (i.e. Alisa Klaus, “Depopulation and Race Suicide: Maternalism and Pronatalist Ideologies in France and the United States” and Barbara Hobson, “Feminist Strategies and Gendered Discourses in Welfare States: Married Women’s Right to Work in the United States and Sweden”).]; Daniel Levine, *Poverty and Society: The Growth of the American Welfare State in International Comparison* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988) [Levine compared the United States, Britain, Denmark, and Germany. He emphasized differences between the nations at the expense of any connections that may have existed between them.]; and E. W. Martin, ed., *Comparative Development in Social Welfare* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972) [This is a collection of essays on Britain and the United States].

¹⁰ Examples of American exceptionalism in social welfare history include Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle Over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Bruce Jansson, *The Reluctant Welfare State: American Social Welfare Policies—Past, Present, and Future* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1997); Charles Noble, *Welfare As We Knew It: A Political History of the American Welfare State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); and Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. An example of American exceptionalism within a comparative framework is Levine, *Poverty and Society*.

¹¹ Examples of studies concerning international social work and social work education include: Alice Salomon, *Education for Social Work: A Sociological Interpretation based on an International Survey* (Zurich, Switzerland: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft A.-G. (published by the

Studies in globalization have also increased scholarly interest in regionalism.¹² This has translated into a growing interest in southern social welfare history. The South was long overlooked in American social welfare history in favor of the major industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest.¹³ In the expanding subject area of southern social welfare history, the general consensus is that the South generally followed national trends, yet also differed from the rest of the nation in distinct ways. These differences are rooted in the region's unique experiences, such as plantation agriculture, slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, sharecropping, the New South, and the pervasive issue of race relations. Over the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the South increasingly approached national standards in social welfare until the Great Depression and New Deal federalized and standardized much of the social welfare policy across the nation. As the South approached national standards, it

International Committee of Schools for Social Work with the support of the Russell Sage Foundation), 1937); Katherine A. Kendall, *Reflections on Social Work Education, 1950–1978* (New York: International Association of Schools of Social Work, 1978); and Kendall, *Social Work Education: Its Origins in Europe* (Alexandria, Va.: Council on Social Work Education, 2000). Often these works on international social work and social work education focus on the field in a contemporary context with little to no attention to historical development. The works cited above are exceptions and capture a notion of historical development or are themselves historically oriented.

¹² Elna C. Green, introduction to *The New Deal and Beyond: Social Welfare in the South Since 1930* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2003), vii–xix, esp. viii. Green argued that, despite the tendency of social welfare historians to conduct analysis at the national level, there is a value to local, state, and regional studies, especially with respect to policy implementation since conditions below the national level determine how national policies play out. She also pointed out that past regional distinctions have growing importance as contemporary society becomes increasingly globalized and standardized.

¹³ Green commented specifically on the lack of studies combining both southern and social welfare history in her introductions to both *Before the New Deal: Social Welfare in the South, 1830–1930* and *The New Deal and Beyond: Social Welfare in the South Since 1930*. These two books constitute a series on southern social welfare history and are collections of essays on the subject intended to spur additional scholarly study.

also was able to influence national social welfare policy, most notably through southern democrats in Congress.¹⁴

The renewed interest in social welfare history in comparative and international contexts is closely related to transnational history, an emerging perspective within the discipline of history. Transnational history is the investigation of instances when local and global histories intersect, and it is useful because it tends to take historical studies outside of traditional geographically bounded conceptual frameworks. Kristin Hoganson, a gender and foreign relations historian, described transnational history as the contemporary effort to “internationalize formerly national histories” so that now “historians are telling stories that mix the local and the global.”¹⁵

Considering social welfare history in international, comparative, and transnational contexts yields new opportunities for research within the field. These perspectives are appealing to scholars of social welfare history because they provide the means to both revitalize a subject that has already received considerable attention and challenge the recurring theme of American exceptionalism in the field. Daniel T. Rodgers and James T. Kloppenberg are two

¹⁴ Studies in southern social welfare history include Lee J. Alston and Joseph P. Ferrie, *Southern Paternalism and the American Welfare State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Green, ed., *Before the New Deal*; Green, *This Business of Relief: Confronting Poverty in a Southern City, 1740–1940* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2003); Green, ed., *The New Deal and Beyond*; and Elizabeth Wisner, *Social Welfare in the South: From Colonial Times to World War I* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1970). The broad threads of Southern social welfare history described above were derived from these works.

¹⁵ Kristin Hoganson, “Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865–1920,” *American Historical Review* 107 (February 2002): 56–57. Hoganson used the description quoted above to elaborate on her observation that the fields of social, cultural, and foreign relations history seem to be converging. Transnational approaches are the result, according to Hoganson, of this convergence.

scholars interested in a transnational approach to social welfare history. In *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, Rodgers outlined a transatlantic dialogue on social politics between reformers and intellectuals in the United States and Western Europe from the 1870s to the 1940s. In *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought*, Kloppenberg made the case for a transatlantic discourse on political theory and philosophy between the United States and Europe.¹⁶

The students and faculty of the Richmond School used their historical imagination and awareness of the contemporary world in their efforts to legitimate social welfare, professional social work, the South, and the Richmond School. They reinforced this figurative engagement of the nation and world with meaningful action on the national and international stage. Based on the archival records, the Richmond School is another example of intersecting local and global histories, providing an opportunity to explore social welfare history through a transnational perspective.

THE RICHMOND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK AND ITS CONTEXT

Three overlapping historical threads are essential to understanding how and why the Richmond School of Social Work engaged the nation and world: the history of social welfare in the United States; the history of professional social work and social work education both nationally and internationally; and the history of social welfare in the South.

¹⁶¹⁶ Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998) and James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

Social Welfare in the United States

The roots of the American social welfare tradition lie in Elizabethan England. Many American colonies adopted laws similar to the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which established a system of “outdoor relief,” or the direct provision of money and goods to those in need. Colonial social welfare policy tended to carry over into state governments following American independence.¹⁷

Popular belief separated the poor into two groups: the deserving poor and the undeserving poor. The deserving poor were those individuals whose need for assistance was considered legitimate, such as widows, orphans, the elderly, the crippled, and the insane. The undeserving poor were those individuals whose need was considered illegitimate, namely the able-bodied poor. Poverty among the able-bodied, or those capable of work, was considered both evidence and consequence of sin as well a source of motivation for work and self improvement. In the early nineteenth century, in light of these popular opinions and the

¹⁷ Catherine Reef, *Poverty in America* (New York: Facts on File, Inc. 2007), xiii–xiv. For additional information on colonial social welfare practice see Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women*, especially chapters 1 and 2; Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1974), especially chapters 2 and 3; and Wisner, *Social Welfare in the South*, especially chapters 1 and 2.

There are several works available that provide a general overview of social welfare history in the United States. The following have informed this section on the historical context of the Richmond School: June Axinn and Mark J. Stern, *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need*, 5th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001); Steven M. Beaudoin, *Poverty in World History* (London: Routledge, 2007); Phyllis J. Day, *A New History of Social Welfare*, 3d ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000); Thomas Katsaros, *The Development of the Welfare State in the Western World* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1995); James Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978); Reef, *Poverty in America*; and Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State*.

increasing number of poor as the American population grew, policy makers and philanthropists began to question the efficacy of outdoor relief.¹⁸

Policy makers and philanthropists turned their attention to “indoor,” or institutional, relief. They believed that instead of providing money or goods, the able-bodied poor would be better off in the poorhouse, where they would have to work for their aid. Even though outdoor relief persisted and affected more individuals’ lives than the poorhouse, this was, as historian Michael B. Katz noted, “the poorhouse era” because “poorhouses symbolized the spirit and intent of welfare practice.”¹⁹

By the mid-nineteenth century, many parts of the United States began to feel the pressures of industrialization and urbanization. The urban working class faced increased poverty, disease, unemployment, and crowded and unsanitary living and working conditions. These circumstances were cause for misery and discontent among the working class, which was a source of class-based tensions between the working class and middle and upper classes and motivation for the spread of socialism and organized labor. The middle and upper classes were anxious over this social unrest and sought the means to alleviate the plight of the poor in order to reduce class conflict.²⁰

Religious organizations, workers’ mutual aid associations, and philanthropists had long been assisting the poor, but such relief was often based

¹⁸ Beaudoin, 40, 49–54; Reef, xiii; and Gerald C. Rothman, *Philanthropists, Therapists, and Activists: A Century of Ideological Conflict in Social Work* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1985), 19.

¹⁹ Beaudoin, 40, 49–54; Katz, xii (quotation); and Reef, xiv–xvi.

²⁰ Beaudoin, 50–51; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 129; Katz, 109, and 113–14; Kendall, *Social Work Education*, vi–vii; and Rothman, 19–22.

on the interest of the giver instead of actual needs of the poor. When philanthropically inclined members of the middle and upper classes turned their attention to the state of poor relief in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, they were alarmed by the random, disorganized, inefficient, and often wasteful distribution of goods and services. The answer to the problematic state of charity, they thought, would be to make philanthropy scientific. The result was the development of charity organization societies (COS), which sought to achieve the systematic distribution of aid by acting as gatekeeper to and coordinator among local charities. Each COS determined client eligibility, detected fraud, referred eligible aid applicants to the charity best suited to meet their particular needs, and administered a system of “friendly visiting” in which middle and upper class volunteers met with the poor to encourage self improvement.²¹

The United States was not the only nation experiencing industrialization, urbanization, and social unrest. In fact, the COS originated in London in 1869. The concepts of scientific philanthropy and the COS quickly crossed the Atlantic, and the first American COS was organized in 1877 in Buffalo, New York. The concept and practice quickly spread in the United States, especially in the urban centers of Northeast and Midwest. By 1894 the United States had ninety-two active charity organization societies and by 1904 the number had increased to one hundred fifty.²²

Not everyone concerned with the plight of the poor and social unrest felt that scientific philanthropy and the COS were the answer. A smaller segment of

²¹ Day, 206–9; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 109–10; Kendall, *Social Work Education*, 25–31; Leiby, 69–173; and Rothman, 10–11, and 21–26.

²² Day, 207.

the middle and upper classes called for real social change that would result in a more equal society. These individuals were more activist and reform-oriented than COS workers. They cast their support behind the settlement house movement, which advocated middle and upper class individuals living and working among the poor so that they could share the benefits of their education and status with those less fortunate than themselves.²³

Like scientific philanthropy and the COS, the settlement house movement began in Great Britain. In 1884, Samuel Barnett founded the first settlement house at Toynbee Hall in London. The settlement house idea also quickly spread to the United States. Illustrating that social welfare initiatives did not develop in national vacuums but were developed and transmitted through international dialogue facilitated by correspondence, publications, and visits between social welfare advocates of different nations, Stanton Coit, an visitor of Toynbee Hall, established the first settlement house in the United States in 1866, which was called the Neighborhood Guild (later renamed the University Settlement) in New York City. By 1900 there were over four hundred settlement houses in the United States, mostly concentrated in the cities of the Northeast and Midwest.²⁴

Over the course of the nineteenth century, as the plight of the poor and social unrest became a growing concern among the middle and upper classes, a particular segment of the poor—dependent, neglected, and delinquent children—gained special attention. Just a half-century earlier, most Americans would have considered children small adults, who were expected to contributed to the

²³ Day, 210–12; Kendall, *Social Work Education*, 16–17; and Rothman, 10–11, 23, and 26–28.

²⁴ Day, 210 and Rothman, 26–27.

household income. It was acceptable for children to work, to be tried as adults in the criminal justice system, and to accompany their parents to the poorhouse. Yet by the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, popular opinion had shifted. Gradually, childhood came to be considered a distinct phase in human development, making children different than adults and in need of adult protection, especially from the deleterious influence of poverty. The new concern for child welfare inspired a variety of reform movements and measures, including educational reform, compulsory school attendance, child labor laws, foster care, day care programs and kindergartens, playgrounds, juvenile courts, probation systems, and infant and maternal health programs.²⁵

A significant development in child welfare at this time was the drive to remove children from the poorhouse and other environments perceived to exert a negative influence. Believing that pauperism was passed from parent to child, child welfare advocates reasoned that one way to end poverty was to remove children from the conditions of extreme poverty. Child welfare advocates believed that, if these children were raised in better environments, they would not grow up to be paupers like their parents. In 1853, Charles Loring Brace established the

²⁵ Day, 213–14; Katz, 114–17 and 129; and Leiby, 144–55. For additional information on the shift in nineteenth-century views of children see Howard Gensler, ed., *The American Welfare System: Origins, Structure, and Effects* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 1996), especially chapter 2, and Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1985). Gensler, ed., *The American Welfare System* is divided into two parts. In the first part, John Drew argued that the American welfare state originated in middle class efforts to end child labor. Drew provided an in depth analysis of child welfare initiatives in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and paid special attention to the child labor movement in the South. For additional information on child welfare in general see Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives*; Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1880–1930* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994); and Susan A. Tiffin, *In Whose Best Interest?: Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982).

New York Children's Aid Society (CAS) and spearheaded the removal and placement of tens of thousands of impoverished children from their homes to farmsteads in the West. Brace claimed that the children adapted to rural life and grew into independent, hard-working adults. In reality, many of the child were exploited, moved frequently, and often made their way back to New York and their families.²⁶

The CAS idea proved popular and spread to cities throughout the United States, yet the exploitation of foster care children was problematic for child welfare advocates in the late nineteenth century. Faced with this problem, Charles Birtwell of the Boston CAS, sought to reform foster care through the development of careful administration and supervision of the CAS and foster care system. As a result, children's aid societies throughout the country evolved into sophisticated adoption and family service agencies. Over time, each CAS adopted high standards in child placement and foster care supervision and expanded agency services to include family counseling and rehabilitation services for family preservation.²⁷

Family preservation, the idea that the best place for a child was his or her own family even in cases of extreme poverty, was another significant development in child welfare. Family preservation gained credence in the early twentieth century at the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. Mothers' pensions, or payments to widows and other mothers deemed worthy of assistance intended to help these women raise their

²⁶ Day, 214 and Katz, 103–9.

²⁷ Day, 214 and Leiby, 144–46.

children at home, were one strategy for family preservation that became a widespread policy measure. In 1911, Missouri became the first state to adopt a system of mother's pensions. By 1913 twenty states had mother's pensions, mainly in the western and central United States. The policy increased in popularity so that by 1919 thirty nine states and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii had mother's pensions. By 1931 mother's pensions were all over the United States, except in Georgia and South Carolina.²⁸ The achievements of the mothers' pension movement marked an unprecedented level of direct state involvement in family life.

The interest in child welfare led to further government expansion into the field of social welfare. In 1912, the United States Children's Bureau, the first federal agency run and staffed by women, was established. The purpose of the Children's Bureau was to conduct research and issue publications on issues pertaining to child welfare, namely infant and maternal health, birth rates, children's institutions, juvenile courts, child labor, and children's legislation. A significant result of the research and work of the Children's Bureau was the development of the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921. The legislation had been intended to provide federal funds for both maternal and child public health education and medical care, yet only educational funds were approved. States most often used these funds to provide education to mothers on nutrition and

²⁸ Axinn and Stern, 144–45; Day 239–40; Katz, 115 and 124–29; and Leiby, 146, 150–52. For more information on mothers' pensions see Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled*; Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work*; and Sonya Michel, "The Limits of Maternalism: Policies Toward American Wage-Earning Mothers During the Progressive Era," in Koven and Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World*.

hygiene. These programs ended in 1929 when Congress failed to renew appropriations for the Sheppard-Towner Act.²⁹

This increasing government involvement in social welfare was a consequence of a shift in popular attitudes toward the poor. At the turn of the twentieth century, the connection between morality and religion and poverty and poor relief had weakened so poverty was no longer considered a natural occurrence and consequence of sin. Popular opinion now attributed poverty to environmental conditions that forced individuals to subsist below a minimum standard of living. This meant that poverty was a scourge on society that could be addressed through positive state action, namely the enforcement of a minimum standard of living.³⁰

This new belief in the possibilities of state action was reinforced by Americans' experience with mobilization, antiradicalism, Americanization programs, and postwar reconstruction during and immediately after World War I. Social expertise, scientific management, social reform, and social service were given new agency, sanction, and status at this time. As a result, local and state welfare administration was completely revamped. State departments of charities and correction, established in the nineteenth century and granted largely symbolic and supervisory powers over state institutions, were transformed in the early twentieth century into state departments of public or social welfare and their powers extended beyond supervision to control of state institutions and policy. In

²⁹ Day, 239–41; Jansson, 122; Katz, 142–44; and Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work*, 9–10 and chapters 3 and 6. See also Ladd-Taylor, *Raising a Baby the Government Way*.

³⁰ Beaudoin, 78–79; William R. Brock, *Welfare, Democracy, and the New Deal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 24; and Leiby, 136–44, 181.

1917, Illinois was the first state to establish a state department of welfare. By 1929 twenty three states had reorganized their social welfare administrative apparatuses into state departments of welfare.³¹

The decade prior to the Great Depression and New Deal has often been characterized as a conservative turn in American history, yet some scholars see in the 1920s a “seedtime” of reform and a period of “constructive ideas” in social welfare.³² In support of this view, the 1920s was when rational technology, scientific management, personnel management, and industrial welfare were in vogue. At this time, relief organizations underwent significant restructuring and improvement with special attention paid to the professionalization and increasing technical competence of social services. In the private sphere, philanthropic foundations, such as the Russell Sage Foundation and Commonwealth Fund, businessmen’s and professionals’ groups, such as the Kiwanis, Rotary International, and Lions Club, and local elites’ charity initiatives, such as the Community Chest, all experienced an increase in membership, funds, and activity.³³

The Great Depression and New Deal mark what many consider a watershed in American social welfare history. Through the 1935 Social Security Act the federal government intervened in social welfare policy to an unprecedented extent, transforming social welfare at the federal, state, and local levels all across the United States. The Social Security Act created a social

³¹ Leiby, 156–78 and McClymer, 74–77.

³² See Clarke A. Chambers, *Seedtime of Reform: American Social Service and Social Action, 1918–1933* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1963) and Leiby, *A History of Social Welfare and Social Work in the United States*, chapter 10.

³³ Leiby, 163–73.

security program, or old age and survivors' insurance (OASI), and unemployment insurance with a mandate for the establishment of state employment agencies. The act also required the creation of state, county, and municipal public welfare departments. These developments resulted in the government becoming the dominant provider of assistance to the categorical poor, such as the elderly, children, unemployed, and disabled, displacing private charity. In response, private organizations turned their attention to more specialized foci and functions, namely family relations, personal development, and preventative services.³⁴

Though it may appear to exacerbate the problem of American exceptionalism in social welfare history, an understanding of social welfare in the United States is essential to any consideration of the Richmond School's archival records. United States social welfare history is not the only context in which the Richmond School falls. The history of the professionalization of social work and the development of social work education has bearing on the Richmond School too. It also provides a means to view social welfare on an international scale.

*The Professionalization of Social Work and
the Development of Social Work Education*

The developments in social welfare policy in the late nineteenth century meant that there were a growing number of increasingly specialized and complex social welfare roles for individuals to fill. In this situation, training for social work was becoming imperative. Such training first appeared in 1870s in Britain under the auspices of Octavia Hill and her work in housing management. In the 1880s, with the cooperation of Margaret Sewell at the Women's United Settlement, Hill's

³⁴ Green, *This Business of Relief*, 213 and Leiby, 191, 240–41.

training course was expanded. In 1890, with the help of the National Union of Women Workers, the training course became a yearlong program. The London COS assumed control of the program in 1901. In 1903, the London COS expanded the training course into a two year program and established the London School of Sociology. In 1912, the London School became the Department of Social Science and Administration in the London School of Economics.³⁵

Social work education became a popular idea which quickly spread beyond Britain. In 1899, influenced by correspondence and visits with Octavia Hill and her housing management system and Samuel Barnett and his settlement house at Toynbee Hall, social welfare advocates in Amsterdam established the first full-time school of social work known as the Institute for Social Worker Training. In the early twentieth century, the Amsterdam school was soon followed by the almost simultaneous development of schools of social work on an international scale. In addition to Amsterdam and London, schools appeared elsewhere in Liverpool, Bristol, Leeds, and Manchester, England; in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Scotland; in Berlin, Germany; and in the United States in New York, Chicago, Boston, and St. Louis. In the 1920s, schools of social work were also established in Santiago, Chile; at the University of Cape Town, the Transvaal University College, and the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa;

³⁵ The above outline of the development of social work education in Britain is drawn from Kendall's detailed description of the subject in chapters 1 through 6 of her book *Social Work Education: Its Origins in Europe*. She narrated the evolution of social work education in Britain with extensive quotes from individuals directly involved. Kendall is unique in her argument for the origin of social welfare education in Britain and her attention to the development of social work education on an international scale. Many works on the history of social work education focus solely on the United States.

and at the University of Yenching in China. In the 1930s, a school of social work opened in India.³⁶

In the United States, the 1893 economic depression exacerbated social problems and provided an impetus to develop social work education. Charity organization societies and settlement houses dominated social welfare in the United States, and these organizations needed additional workers to cope with the economic depression. They found a pool of ready workers in female college graduates, whose numbers were increasing as a result of the establishment of women's colleges in the late nineteenth century. The only problem was that these women lacked social welfare work experience and training. Anna L. Dawes raised this problem in her address, "The Need of Training Schools for a new Profession," which she gave at the 1893 International Conference of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy (also known as the National Conference of Charities and Correction) in Chicago.³⁷ In 1897, responding to Dawes's call to action, Mary Richmond outlined a proposal for a social work training in her address, "The Need for Training Schools in Applied Philanthropy," given before the National Conference of Charities and Correction.³⁸

It was not long before Richmond's proposal was put into action. In 1898, the New York COS instituted a summer training program, which by 1904 evolved into the New York School of Philanthropy. In 1919, this same institution became

³⁶ Kendall, *Social Work Education*, 61, 75, 81–82, 84, 88, and 91. Chapter 7 of this book is devoted to the early development of social work education on an international scale.

³⁷ This coincided with the 1893 Chicago World's Fair.

³⁸ David M. Austin, *A History of Social Work Education* (Austin, Tx.: School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin, 1986), 1–2, and 47; Charles S. Levy, *Social Work Education, 1898–1955* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, Inc., 1981), 7–15; and Rothman, 63 and 169.

the New York School of Social Work and later became the Columbia University School of Social Work. In 1903 in Chicago, Graham Taylor of the Chicago Commons settlement house and Julia Lathrop of Hull House established the Institute of Social Science. In 1907, this became the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and, in 1920, the University of Chicago School of Social Administration. In 1904 in Boston, Simmons College and Harvard University jointly sponsored the Boston School of Social Work. In 1905 in St. Louis, the St. Louis School of Social Economy was established within the University of Missouri and later transferred to Washington University. By 1919 there were twenty schools of social work in the United States and by 1928 the number had increased to forty schools in the United States and Canada.³⁹

The Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health was among these early social work training institutions. On April 17, 1917, the school was privately chartered as the Richmond School of Social Economy by a group of Richmond citizens, many of whom were affiliated with various local and private welfare agencies and who were motivated by “a long felt need for more available training for Southern social workers.”⁴⁰ According to Thomas Owen Carlton, the school’s organizers “believed that Southern social workers should be trained in the South in a program ‘as thorough and definite as that for other professions.’”⁴¹ In the fall

³⁹ Austin, 2, 6–8; Day, 218–19 and 253–54; and Levy, 16–17.

⁴⁰ *Richmond School of Social Economy: First Annual Announcement, 1917–1918* (Richmond, Va., 1917), n.p. and 8 (quote) and Henry H. Hibbs, *A History of the Richmond Professional Institute: From Its Beginning in 1917 to Its Consolidation with the Medical College of Virginia in 1968 to Form Virginia Commonwealth University* (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1973), 14 and 14n3. The front matter of the *Announcement* (not paginated) lists the incorporation date, founders, administrative officers, instructors, and special lecturers.

⁴¹ Thomas Owen Carlton, *From Social Economy to Differential Practice: A History of the VCU School of Social Work* (Richmond, Va.: School of Social Work, Virginia Commonwealth

of 1917 the school's name was changed to the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, reflecting the purpose of the institution as a training center for social workers and public health nurses. The president of the College of William and Mary, Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, was also a founder and member of the board of trustees of the Richmond School. This connection facilitated a relationship between the two schools. In 1925, William and Mary assumed complete control over the Richmond School, combining the institution with William and Mary's extension division in Richmond to form the Richmond Division of the College of William and Mary (within which the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health was still a distinct entity). In 1939, the name was changed to the Richmond Professional Institute (RPI), reflecting the addition of a School of Art in 1925 and a School of Distributive Education in 1937 to the preexisting School of Social Work and Public Health and extension courses. In 1968, RPI merged with the Medical College of Virginia to form Virginia Commonwealth University.⁴²

In the early twentieth century, schools of social work were fixated on attaining professional status for social work largely because of the influence of Abraham Flexner. Based on his study of the medical profession, Flexner was considered an expert on professions. At the 1915 Conference of Charities and Correction, Flexner delivered the keynote address entitled "Is Social Work a Profession?" Flexner's answer sent shockwaves through the social work community: social work was not a profession nor should it aspire to be one.

University, 1987), 3–4. Carlton is quoting from *Richmond School of Social Economy: First Announcement, 1917–1918*, 8. Carlton was a member of the faculty of the VCU School of Social Work when he authored this history of the school.

⁴² Carlton, 8 and 12; Susan H. Godson, et. al., *The College of William & Mary: A History, vol. II, 1888–1993* (Williamsburg, Va.: King and Queen Press, 1993), 575–76; and Hibbs, 24–25

Social workers immediately set out to disprove Flexner and became fixated on establishing social work as a profession.⁴³

One consequence of this fixation on professional status was the establishment of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work. This professional organization set out to establish standards of accreditation, admittance, and curriculum for schools of social work. In 1921 the organization changed its name to the Association of Professional Schools of Social Work. By that time its membership had increased from seventeen to twenty-one schools. In 1927, the group changed its name again to the American Association of Schools of Social Work (AASSW) and its membership had risen include twenty-eight schools.⁴⁴

Like the emergence of social work training, the professionalization of social work was also an international phenomenon. Between 1917 and 1927 social work began to professionalize in Europe with the formation of national professional associations and the establishment of state professional regulations. In 1917 in Germany, a professional organization, the Konferenz Sozialer Frauenschulen und Wohlfahrtsschulen Deutschlands, was formed, followed by the first national regulations instituted anywhere in 1918. Also in 1918 in Britain, the British Joint Council of Social Studies was formed. In 1920 in Belgium, the Conseil des Ecoles de Service Social emerged. Lastly, in 1923 in France, state

⁴³ Austin, 6–8.

⁴⁴ Austin, 6–12.

regulations were instituted and followed by the formation of the Comité d'Entente des Ecoles de Service Social in 1927.⁴⁵

The professionalization of social work in different countries was not coincidental. This was a consciously international phenomenon. In July 1928, three thousand delegates from forty-two nations gathered in Paris for the Social Welfare Fortnight. This conference marked the beginning of the International Council on Social Work. The conference also had a committee devoted to social work training chaired by Alice Salomon. In this session, M. J. A. Moltzer of the Netherlands suggested that an international professional training organization be created, which resulted in the formation of the International Committee of Schools of Social Work in 1929 (later known as the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW)). Individuals from Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States worked together to form the IASSW. All 111 known schools of social work were invited to join. Forty-six schools from fourteen nations joined, representing a number of European nations, Canada, Chile, and the United States. By 1939 seventy five schools from eighteen nations, including India, Egypt, and the Dutch East Indies, were in the IASSW.⁴⁶

Not only was the Richmond School a part of United States social welfare history, but it was also part of the history of professional social work and social

⁴⁵ Salomon, 1–2.

⁴⁶ Katherine A. Kendall, "The IASSW 1929–1978: A Journey of Remembrance," in *Reflections on Social Work Education*, 170–74 and Salomon, 1. The organizers of the IASSW included: Mme. M. Mulle (Belgium), Mme. Edouard Fuster (France), Dr. Alice Salomon (Germany), Dr. M. J. A. Moltzer (Netherlands), Professor Helen Radlinska (Poland), Mme. M. Wagner-Beck (Switzerland), Mlle. M. de Meyenburg (Switzerland), Elisabeth Macadam (United Kingdom), Elinor Black (United Kingdom), Sophonisba Breckinridge (United States), and Porter Lee (United States).

work education on a national and international scale. These two contexts are important considerations when approaching the Richmond School's archival records. While important these historical threads fail to school's immediate context as a southern institution.

The Richmond School of Social Work as a Southern Institution

Several factors set the South apart as a distinct region within the United States. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the South was still predominantly rural or semi-rural, having fewer and smaller industrial cities and less direct experience with European immigration than the Northeast and Midwest. Outside of textile towns and the few cities of the South, urban squalor and class conflict would have been distant and foreign concerns for many southerners, especially since the South had more pressing problems, such as the after effects of slavery, abolition, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. The South tended to follow national trends in social welfare, but national practice was often filtered and distorted by regional perspectives. In the South, social welfare practice had to accommodate the issue of race, the Lost Cause and the New South, disenfranchisement and the entrenchment of the Democratic Party, and an apparent conservatism most notable in Virginia.

One of the legacies of the South's experience with slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction was the enduring question of race relations. Following Reconstruction a system of de facto and de jure segregation was erected in all southern states. As a result, private charities and public social welfare institutions were either segregated, offering services or facilities separately on the basis of

race, or racially exclusive, offering services or facilities to only one race, frequently to whites only. Often in response, middle class urban African Americans established parallel social welfare institutions to meet the needs of the African American community.⁴⁷

As a southern institution the Richmond School also had to address question of race. In 1917, the year the Richmond School opened, Ora Stokes, an African American woman, applied for admission, and her application was discussed at a meeting of the school's governing body. The consensus reached was that Stokes could not be granted admission, but the Richmond School would be willing to work with the African American community to establish an extension course for African Americans. The committee recognized the importance of social work training for African Americans in order to meet the needs of the African American community, but believed this could not be achieved at the expense of bringing African Americans and whites together.⁴⁸ By 1937, June Purcell Guild, a former lecturer at the Richmond School, was director of the School of Social Work at Virginia Union University, an African American college in Richmond, Virginia.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Green, *This Business of Relief*, 137–42.

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Richmond School of Social Economy, September 25, 1917, n.p..

⁴⁹ Salomon, 259. Salomon listed the program at Virginia Union University as one acknowledged as providing some course credit necessary toward membership in the American Association of Social Workers. June Purcell Guild was a lawyer and practicing social worker who taught courses on the legal aspects of social work in 1930–31, 1931–32, and 1932–33. She received her law degree at Ohio State University, and was an instructor in social work at the University of Toledo prior to coming to the Richmond School. She was author of several publications, including *Laws for Ohio Social Workers*, *Manual for Virginia Social Workers*, *Living with the Law*, and *The Negro in Richmond* (*Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Announcements of Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Academic Division, Division of Fine Arts, Extension Division: 1930–31* (Richmond, Va), 7; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Announcements of The School of Social Work and Public Health, The Department of*

The question of race relations was significant enough at the Richmond School to find expression in the classroom and in student life. Courses were offered on the subject, such as “The Negro and Community Life” during the 1919–20 school year, “Race Problems” during the 1929–30 school year, and “Race Relations” during the 1934–35 school year.⁵⁰ In January 1938, *The Atlas* reported that the school’s branch of the American Student Union (ASU), based on the recommendation of the national ASU convention, planned to offer a seminar on African American history and culture.⁵¹

Another legacy of the Civil War and Reconstruction was the question of Southern regional identity and well being. When the Confederacy lost the Civil War, the South’s identity and economy were left in shambles. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the ideas of the Lost Cause and the New South circulated across the South in an effort to uplift southern morale and the southern economy. Advocates of the Lost Cause sought to boost southern morale through the veneration of the Confederacy in rhetoric and civic life. Lost Cause rhetoric and initiatives masked the growth of social welfare policy in the South because it provided the justification necessary for Southern states to establish and expand benefits programs for Confederate veterans and widows.

Physical Education and Community Recreation, The School of Art, Courses in Liberal Arts and Sciences, Evening Extension Courses: 1931–32 (Richmond, Va.), 8; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, The College of William and Mary, Including the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Announcements: 1932–33* (Richmond, Va.), 9).

⁵⁰ *School of Social Work and Public Health, Third Annual Catalogue: 1919–1920* (Richmond, Va.), 18; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Announcements of Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Academic Division, Extension Division: 1929–1930* (Richmond, Va.), 34; and *Bulletin, Richmond Division, The College of William and Mary, Including the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health and the Richmond School of Art, Announcements: 1934–35* (Richmond, Va.), 67.

⁵¹ “A. S. U. Plans Seminar on Negro History,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), January 26, 1938, 1.

The New South was a program of regional rehabilitation and economic development focused on industrialization. This too helped fuel an expansion in southern social welfare policy since industrial development brought a host of social problems, which opened the industrializing areas of the South to social reform and social welfare.⁵²

Richmond, the former capital of the Confederacy and an industrializing city, was steeped in expressions of the Lost Cause and the New South. It was also familiar with urban squalor and the social problems attendant to industrialization and urbanization. Between 1900 and 1910, Richmond had the fourth highest death rate in the nation. In the early twentieth century, Richmond was also the most congested city in the South with twenty-two people per acre and the city faced the problem of a contaminated water supply at the Shockoe Bottom reservoir. The city was also home to a sizable and growing educated middle class. This middle class was receptive to the ideas of scientific philanthropy and charity organization, which were brought to the region by the COS representatives who toured the South in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1905 in Richmond, the Relief Association, City Mission, and Baptist Council pooled their philanthropic resources to form the Associated Charities, an organization espousing COS principles. In 1917, COS advocates were among the individuals who started the Richmond School.⁵³

Following Reconstruction, a significant portion of the southern population, including all African Americans, was disenfranchised. By the early twentieth

⁵² Green, *This Business of Relief*, 103, 120, and 126 and Grantham, xv–xvi.

⁵³ Green, *This Business of Relief*, 103, 111, 113–14, 117, and 135–36.

century, as the electorate shrank, the Democratic Party was able to oust Republican government officials and to embark on a decades-long domination of Southern politics and government. Widespread disenfranchisement and the entrenchment of the Democratic Party were factors that helped bring the South back into national politics. By 1910, Democrats had gained a majority in the House of Representatives, which meant longstanding southern Democrats held seniority. Then, in 1912, Woodrow Wilson, was elected President. As a Southerner, Democrat, and figurehead of progressive reform, Wilson helped nationalize Southern politics while also making social welfare respectable in the South. The presence of the Richmond School is one example of how, by the end of World War I, professional social work education and career opportunities had spread across the South.⁵⁴

As previously noted, the decade following the Wilson presidency and World War I seemed to signal a conservative turn in American history. This held true for the South and the state of Virginia especially, which had a particularly conservative reputation during this period. Part of Virginia's conservative image stems from the dominance of the Byrd family's Democratic political machine. The Byrd machine vigorously opposed the New Deal, so that Virginia was the last state to fully comply with the Social Security Act of 1935, not meeting federal approval until 1938.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Grantham, 351, 371, 374, and 393 and Wisner, 137.

⁵⁵ Joseph Cepuran, *Public Assistance and Child Welfare: The Virginia Pattern, 1646–1964* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1968), 26–29; Grantham, xxii; and Green, *This Business of Relief*, 133, 135, 152, 178. For additional information challenging the South's conservative reputation (especially that of Virginia), see Green, *This Business of Relief*, 133–52 and 177–207.

Though Virginia politics was decidedly conservative, social welfare initiatives were not absent. In 1908, following national trends, the state established a State Board of Charities and Correction, a body with largely supervisory powers over state social welfare institutions. In 1922, Governor Westmoreland Davis established the Children's Code Commission to report on the state of child welfare laws. The General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of the Commission, replaced the State Board of Charities and Corrections with the State Board of Public Welfare. In 1927, this body became subordinate to the State Department of Public Welfare. The state also allowed, but did not mandate, mothers' pensions. In this period, the General Assembly also established compulsory school attendance, reform schools, and asylums while also instituting penal reform and allocating funds for public schools and roads.⁵⁶ These actions demonstrate that even an apparently conservative state like Virginia mirrored national trends in the reorganization and expansion of state social welfare apparatuses.

The Richmond School is another notable exception to Virginia's apparent conservatism in the 1920s and 1930s. Caught between national and regional trends and situated in a sea of conservative politics, the Richmond School figuratively and actively engaged the nation and world. The Richmond School's staff and students were working to establish the legitimacy of social welfare, professional social work, the school itself, and the South. Their particular and purposeful visions, constructed through historical and contemporary informational sources, of what lay beyond local environs and their direct engagement with and

⁵⁶ Cepuran, 12–15, and 18 and Green, *This Business of Relief*, 133–35 and 151–52.

awareness of national and international social welfare networks was a part of this effort. All of which reveal an intersection of local, regional, national, and international histories.

CONSTRUCTING THE PAST:

HISTORY AS A MEANS TO ENGAGE THE NATION AND WORLD

The written record of the Richmond School of Social Work reveals an institution concerned with the past and the meanings the past can hold for the present. The staff and students of the Richmond School used history to construct a view of how the nation and world had been and how they fit into that history. Often these explorations of the past would begin with the school itself, a social welfare movement or trend that had bearing on local surroundings, or a local welfare agency that provided field work experience for students. From these local starting points, the staff and students constructed histories that spanned both the recent and ancient past, traversed the nation and globe, and ultimately gave the Richmond School, the South, social welfare, or professional social work a place in a historical tradition. Constructing these records of the past was about more than just finding a place as a part of something older and greater than the present, it was also about building credibility and legitimacy by lending the Richmond School, the South, social welfare, and professional social work the weight of the past.

This interest in the past permeates the written record of the Richmond School, finding expression in what should be one of the most present-oriented documents, the student newspaper *The Atlas*. Nine articles between May 1930

and April 1935 featured the history of the Richmond School and the College of William and Mary.⁵⁷ These articles presented the Richmond School's past as a story of growth and progress, a narrative that could be a source of pride for the students, staff, and supporters of the school and an inspiration to students to excel in their professional lives in order to further build the school's reputation. These articles also illustrate how the school readily claimed the long and illustrious history of the College of William and Mary (the second oldest college in the United States, dating back to 1693) as part of the Richmond School's legacy, bolstering the Richmond School's own relatively short historical narrative which only began in 1917.

Margaret Sycle's article, "Our Background," illustrates this interest in the past and history's meaning for the present. Sycle described reading an article in *Black Swan* magazine in which Robert Burton Northcourt said of William and Mary that "no college building in America is of such historic importance, and perhaps no other school in the world has, in proportion to the size of its student body graduated more men who have made history."⁵⁸ She continued quoting from Northcourt regarding the many markers to fame William and Mary possessed, including three presidents, fifteen state governors, three Supreme Court justices, and one Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Sycle then linked the Richmond School to this tradition and, based on this connection, predicted:

So the Richmond Division, twenty years from now, will have, we are confident, a page so crowned with women who have won renown in the

⁵⁷ See appendix I for a list of these articles.

⁵⁸ Sycle, "Our Background," 3. Margaret Sycle was from Richmond, Virginia, and received both a bachelor's degree and certificate in social work from the Richmond School in 1931 ("Program, Closing Exercises," in *Bulletin...: 1931-32*, n.p.).

fields of case work, recreation, and public health nursing. Our pioneer days are over, our way is paved, we are ascending, each year our graduates add glory. We must speed forward and bring fame to our "classic walls." It cannot be said; it must be done.⁵⁹

The Richmond School had been a part of the College of William and Mary since 1925, so Sytle could claim the College's history as a part of the Richmond School and use the College's legacy as a source of motivation to compel Richmond School students and alumni to greatness. Past greatness helps build legitimacy in the present and present and future achievements would only further establish the legitimacy of the Richmond School and, by extension, that of the South, social welfare, and professional social work.

In the Richmond School's course catalogs, administrators used history as a selling point to prospective students. Statements regarding the school's history first appeared in the course catalog for 1921–22 and appeared in nearly all subsequent course catalogs.⁶⁰ These historical statements proudly proclaimed 1917 as the year in which the school was established and highlighted the pioneer status of the institution. Early statements claimed that the Richmond School "was the first training school for social workers and public health nurses to be established on a permanent basis in the South."⁶¹ Beginning in 1925, this statement was modified to state that "at that time [1917] there was no place in the South where Southern women could obtain training for social and public health work. The School was, therefore, the first training school of its kind in the

⁵⁹ Sytle, "Our Background," 3.

⁶⁰ Historical statements appear in course catalogs for the following years: 1921–22, 1922–23, 1925–26, 1926–27, 1927–28, 1928–29, 1929–30, 1930–31, 1931–32, 1932–33, 1933–34, 1934–35, 1935–36, 1936–37, and 1938–39.

⁶¹ *Fifth Annual Catalogue, Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Section I, Announcement of Courses in Social Work, Recreation and Community Work: 1921–1922* (Richmond, Va., 1921), 6.

South.”⁶² After the Richmond School came under the auspices of the College of William and Mary the historical statements included a brief note on the history of the College as well. These statements thus established the Richmond School as both a pioneer and a part of something older and more established than itself.

The appearance of statements regarding the school’s history in the course catalogs suggests that the administrators attached importance to the institution’s heritage and were seeking to establish the school as a pioneer in social welfare in the South. Furthermore, these statements suggest that the administrators may have believed that the school’s history and pioneer status would help attract students. Building a recognized institutional history, laying claim to labels that suggest pioneer and leadership status, and attracting new students are all factors that contribute to establishing the legitimacy of an institution. And in this case, if the Richmond School of Social Work were a legitimate institution, then some of this legitimacy could be extended to the social welfare activities it participated in, the profession for which it was training its students, and the region it represented.

The course catalogs also provide a window into the Richmond School’s curriculum, which reveals that a historical perspective may have been a component in some of the courses offered at the school. Beginning with the first session in 1917–18, there was at least one course that explicitly involved the historical development of a social welfare topic, such as the modern urban environment, industrial welfare, criminology, penology, physical education, social welfare administration, labor, industry, the family, juvenile courts, and

⁶² *Bulletin, Richmond Division. College of William and Mary. Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Catalogue: 1925–26, (Richmond, Va., 1925), 5–6.*

probation.⁶³ Over time as the course catalog grew to include programs in art, fashion, retail science, and evening extension classes, course descriptions were sometimes shortened or nonexistent. As a result, it is difficult to determine if some courses retained a historical component.

The theses of master's degree students at the Richmond School suggest that the curriculum retained a historical component even when the course catalogs failed to provide course descriptions. These theses often included at least a chapter devoted to the history of the institution, social movement, social trend, or social welfare subject a student was writing about. Some theses were even entire histories of a social welfare topic.⁶⁴ The manner in which history was such an integral component in several of the theses suggests that a historical awareness may have been present in the classroom and carried over into the work of these students.

Oftentimes including a historical element in a thesis was purposeful and some of these students explicitly communicated what they hoped to achieve by using history. Thelma Manley Charles,⁶⁵ believing that an understanding of the past was necessary to develop a plan for the future, wrote in her thesis on poor

⁶³ See appendix II for a list of courses with historical components.

⁶⁴ See appendix III for a list of theses that are entirely devoted to the history of a social welfare institution, movement, trend, or topic or contain a chapter on the history of a social welfare institution, movement, trend, or topic.

⁶⁵ I am including at first mention a brief biography of each thesis author either in the text or a footnote because these personal and professional biographies speak to the national and international social welfare networks that the Richmond School was aware of and a part of through its students as well as its staff and supporters.

Thelma Manley Charles was born in 1902 in Shady Springs, West Virginia. Her postsecondary education included Alderson Baptist Academy in Alderson, West Virginia, and Butler University, in Indianapolis, Indiana, where she received her bachelor's degree in 1924. Before attending the Richmond School, Charles was married and taught at the high school and junior college levels in West Virginia and Virginia (Charles, "The Development of Poor Relief Laws in Virginia from 1619–1930," (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932), 112).

relief in Virginia that “if a course for the future is to be charted that will lead to a satisfactory solution of the poor relief problem, the experiences of the past must be used as a guide.”⁶⁶ The past could be more than a learning tool as Mary Elizabeth Powell⁶⁷ noted in her study of Mother’s Aid in Virginia: “This study is made in an effort to show through Virginia’s history, its law, and the present day organization and administration of Mothers’ Aid, the progress of Virginia toward the goal set by the most progressive states in their administration of Mothers’ Aid.”⁶⁸ History could also illustrate progress towards an ideal, demonstrate parity between similar processes and institutions, and establish legitimacy. Lastly, a history is not useful if it is not remembered. Anne Hemphill Rogers⁶⁹ recognized this when she set out “to put into permanent record the details of the history and of the work of the Bureau of Catholic Charities from its start in Richmond to the present day” with the intent “that this study will be a permanent contribution to the history of social work in Virginia and to the history of the service of the Catholic Church to Richmond and to Virginia.”⁷⁰ As Charles, Powell, and Rogers expressed, the histories they would present in their theses could serve as a tool to guide the present, track progress towards a goal, and provide a testament to the present and future. These students recognized the usefulness of history,

⁶⁶ Charles, 100.

⁶⁷ Mary Elizabeth Powell was born in 1911 in Petersburg, Virginia. She received a bachelor’s degree in 1932 from Randolph-Macon Women’s College in Lynchburg, Virginia (Powell, “Mother’s Aid in Virginia: Its History and Administration” (Master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935), viii).

⁶⁸ Powell, iii.

⁶⁹ Anne Hemphill Rogers was born in 1912 in Abbeville, South Carolina. She received her bachelor’s degree in 1933 from Winthrop College in Rock Hill, South Carolina (Rogers, “The Bureau of Catholic Charities: A Treatment of the Developmental History and Work” (Master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935), n.p.).

⁷⁰ Rogers, 87.

especially when constructed in such a way as to convey a particular and purposeful vision of the past with meaning for the present.

Not all of the students who incorporated history into their master's theses were as forthright as Charles, Powell, and Rogers concerning their choice. In her study of the Social Service Bureau of Petersburg, Charlotte Beverley Hoy⁷¹ provided a subtle defense of social work as a profession by presenting it as a story of progress. She noted how social work as a term had undergone a change in meaning over time. Initially, social work meant charity. Then its meaning shifted to philanthropy then benevolence followed by reform and then relief until its contemporary meaning of personality adjustment. This evolution in meaning corresponded to the shift in social work from friendly intervention to profession.

According to Hoy, charity in the early Christian church, feudal Europe, and among American pioneers was neighborliness—unorganized, spontaneous, and restricted to a social unit, such as the church congregation. She pinpointed modern conditions as the reason for the professionalization of social work; complex communities were in existence, making formally organized aid necessary. Institutionalization, planning, organized relief, and police power had to supplant informality, spontaneity, neighborliness, and mutual aid. Hoy presented modern social welfare activities and the professionalization of social work as

⁷¹ Charlotte Beverley Hoy was born in 1913 in Petersburg, Virginia. She received a bachelor's degree in 1935 from Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia (Hoy, "The Social Service Bureau of Petersburg and Its Predecessors: A Record of Its Development and Work Including the Other Social Agencies of Petersburg, Virginia" (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938), 301).

inevitable—evolving alongside and in response to the growth of civilization—and as a product and measure of progress.⁷²

Like Hoy, Anne Hemphill Rogers also attributed a long history to social welfare in her thesis on the Bureau of Catholic Charities in Richmond. Rogers began her history of charity with the natural world by stating that charity began in the animal kingdom and that “charity in some form has existed since the beginning of life in the universe.”⁷³ She described the development of charity over time as:

...a gradual growth through time, becoming more pronounced with the growth of civilization of man, with his increased contacts and responsibilities toward his fellow man, with his religious advance, and with his ideas of centralization and administration which has resulted in our present highly charitable societies.⁷⁴

These statements use history to present charity, or social welfare activities, as natural and timeless, progressing alongside mankind. This would mean that the social welfare initiatives of the present, formal education in social work, and social work as a profession were the next step in a long tradition and evidence of society’s natural progress.

According to Rogers, the Bureau of Catholic Charities was already a part of a long tradition in social welfare history—a natural response to the advancement of civilization. She further established the legitimacy of the Richmond Bureau by presenting it as an outgrowth of formal Catholic charity. She traced the Richmond Bureau of Catholic Charities back to the Ladies of Charity, an organized charitable group established, in 1617, by Saint Vincent de

⁷² Hoy, 3–7.

⁷³ Rogers, 1 and 87 (quote).

⁷⁴ Rogers, 1–2 (quote).

Paul in France. Saint Vincent de Paul's legacy continued into 1843 with the first conference in Paris of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, a charitable organization inspired by his memory and work. The Society of Saint Vincent de Paul grew, became international in scope, and first appeared in the United States in St. Louis in 1845. In 1908, the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul met for its annual conference in Richmond, became established there in 1919, and led to the organization of the Bureau of Catholic Charities there in 1922.⁷⁵ Rogers saw within the Richmond Bureau of Catholic Charities a direct link to the nation at large, to charity organization on an international scale, to France, and to the continuity of charitable activity through all of history. By outlining such a history around the Richmond Bureau she established a local agency as a part of something larger and more important than itself and thus attempted to legitimate the agency and its social work, which was tied to social work in Richmond, at her school, and in the South.

Rogers was unique in drawing a link between a local agency and France. More commonly, if a student were to establish a connection with another country, Great Britain was the nation of choice. Hoy did so when she identified early American poor laws as following the model of the 1601 Elizabethan Poor Laws.⁷⁶ Virginia C. Lee⁷⁷, in her study of the development of the Richmond Social Service Bureau, also noted that the basis of American poor relief laws were the English

⁷⁵ Rogers, 34 and 88–90.

⁷⁶ Hoy, 5–6.

⁷⁷ Virginia C. Lee was born in 1913 in Lynchburg, Virginia. She received a bachelor's degree in 1934 from Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia (Lee, "The Development of the Social Service Bureau of Richmond, Virginia" (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938), n.p.).

methods of poor relief that the colonists brought with them to the American colonies.⁷⁸ Likewise, Frances Virginia Salter⁷⁹, in her review of children's legislation in colonial Virginia, commented on the close ties Virginia had with English custom and law since colonists brought these over with them and initially tried to maintain them.⁸⁰ In several instances students at the Richmond School were directly engaging a conception of England, its laws, and its traditions while also highlighting Virginia's and the United States' link or position as inheritor of that legacy.

The colonial period was only one way in which students engaged England historically. Mary Frances Shelburne,⁸¹ in her history of the Richmond Family Service Society, stated that "the patterns of the earliest charity organizations in this country...were derived from our foreign progenitors," specifically Great Britain.⁸² Shelburne quoted from Frank Dekker Watson's *Charity Organization Movement in the United States*:

⁷⁸ Lee, 1.

⁷⁹ Frances Virginia Salter was born in 1911 in Repton, Alabama, and later moved to Anniston, Alabama. She received her bachelor's degree in 1931 from Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia (Salter, "The History of the Virginia Colonial Children Legislation from 1619 to 1792" (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932), n.p.).

⁸⁰ Salter, 5–6.

⁸¹ Mary Frances Shelburne was born in 1911 in Bristol, Tennessee. Prior to attending the Richmond School she also lived in Birmingham and Gadsden, Alabama, and Danville, Virginia. She received her bachelor's degree in 1931 from Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. After graduating from the Richmond School, she worked at the Associated Charities of Cincinnati, Ohio, the Social Service Bureau of Danville, Virginia, the New York City COS, and the Junior League of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. She also took classes at the New York School of Social Work while in New York City (Shelburne, "A Brief History of the Family Service Society of Richmond, Virginia" (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932), 111; "On Record as Doing...", *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), November 29, 1933, 3; "Promotions Among Graduates," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), January 19, 1934, 1; and "W. & M. Grads Win Positions in Other States—School of Social Work Graduates Find Interesting Work in Social Agencies," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), November 17, 1936, 1.).

⁸² Shelburne, 15. Helen Miriam Harrison, whose thesis "The Family Welfare Society of Atlanta, Georgia" was written in 1934 (two years after Shelburne's thesis), used thirteen of the same secondary source books as Shelburne did in her thesis. She also presented a history of charity

Of all the antecedents of the Charity Organization Movement in the United States, none has had greater influence than the work of these pioneers in England...The first charity organization society to cover a large American city, (Buffalo, New York), was transplanted direct from England. But of even greater importance was the influence of the work of Edward Dennison and Octavia Hill, from whom the spirit of the works in America, especially Boston and New York City, received great impetus.⁸³

Shelburne preceded her discussion of England as the bridge between European and American charity organization with a review of charity organization abroad that included Saint Vincent de Paul in seventeenth-century France, Frederick Ozanam of Paris (originator of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul in the nineteenth century), Caspar Von Vought of Hamburg, Count Rumford of Bavaria, Thomas Chambers of Glasgow (whose charity organization initiative was modeled on the Hamburg system of Caspar Von Vought), and Octavia Hill of London. She followed her discussion of the English connection with the independent development of charity organization in three American cities: Germantown, Pennsylvania; Buffalo, New York; and Boston, Massachusetts.⁸⁴ Thus Shelburne cast the United States as part of a long tradition of charity organization that began in Europe and traveled to the United States through Great Britain.

Shelburne's history of charity organization did not end in the northeastern United States, but, surprisingly, continued into the South. Shelburne acknowledged how counterintuitive it seemed to include the South in the history

organization abroad and in the United States that is very similar to the one detailed by Shelburne. Harrison was born Menominee, Michigan. She grew up there and in Atlanta, Georgia. She received her bachelor's degree in 1933 from Emory University (Harrison, "The Family Welfare Society of Atlanta, Georgia," (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1934), n.p.).

⁸³ Shelburne, 14 (quoting Frank Dekker Watson, *Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (New York: Macmillian Company, 1922), 62).

⁸⁴ Shelburne, 8–13 and 19–20.

of charity organization, yet “the South was by no means uninterested in social movements prior to the advent of the charity organization movement.”⁸⁵

Shelburne pointed to the 1903 National Conference of Charities and Correction in Atlanta, Georgia, as an awakening for the South, contributing to the establishment, in 1912, of the Southern Sociological Congress. By 1916, the Southern Sociological Congress had extension conferences all across the South, with the exception of Georgia and Mississippi. Shelburne saw the South as “rapidly coming to the fore and taking her place by the side of the North in development of the charity organization movement.”⁸⁶

Richmond and the Family Service Society of Richmond, the local organization at which most social work students completed at least part of their field work requirement, was the culmination of Shelburne’s history of charity organization.⁸⁷ “Richmond has not been unlike the rest of the South along the line of charity organization,” Shelburne commented, “the movement came about as a gradual development and it is only within the past eight or ten years that she can claim a charity organization society whose standards measure up to those required for membership in the Family Welfare Association of America.”⁸⁸ The organization Shelburne alluded to there is the Family Service Society of Richmond, the subject of her thesis. Even though the newest chapters in the history of charity organization lay in the South, in places like Richmond, what was

⁸⁵ Shelburne, 23.

⁸⁶ Shelburne, 23.

⁸⁷ For additional information on the field work requirement for social work students and the connection between the Richmond School and the Family Service Society of Richmond, see the course catalogs for the date range of this study (1917 to 1939), especially those of the 1930s.

⁸⁸ Shelburne, 24.

important was that Richmond was a part of this story. By situating a local agency as the next step in the history of charity organization, Shelburne was arguing for the legitimacy of southern social welfare, especially its manifestation in Richmond and the local Family Service Society, by situating a local agency as the latest part of an evolving national and international historical tradition.

The staff and students at the Richmond School of Social Work understood the usefulness of history, especially histories that are constructed with the present in mind. They recognized history as a means to engage the nation and world and a useful tool in constructing a case for the legitimacy of social welfare, professional social work, the South, and the Richmond School. Yet history was only one instrument discernable in the written record of the Richmond School. Purposeful visions of the contemporary nation and world were another.

CONSTRUCTING THE PRESENT:

FACTUAL INFORMATION AS A MEANS TO ENGAGE THE NATION AND WORLD

The written record of the Richmond School reveals more than an institution mired in the past. It also reveals an institution keenly interested in the present. The staff and students of the Richmond School looked to contemporary data, statistics, and laws from other cities, states, and nations to inform their vision of the region, nation, and world. Within these purposefully constructed visions of the present, the staff and students imparted a sense of legitimacy and relevancy to what mattered to them—social welfare, professional social work, the South, and the Richmond School.

Margaret Wingo,⁸⁹ in her thesis “A Study of the Infant and Maternal Mortality in Richmond, Virginia,” presented Richmond’s infant and maternal mortality problem as part of a national problem. She did so through a discussion of infant and maternal mortality statistics collected between 1916 and 1929 from several American cities, including Syracuse, New York; Atlanta, Georgia; Dayton and Youngtown, Ohio; Worcester, Massachusetts; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Grand Rapids, Michigan; New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut. In 1929, Richmond had the second highest mortality rate among these ten cities, making the problem particularly pressing.⁹⁰

Wingo believed the answer to Richmond’s infant and maternal mortality problem lay in a careful consideration of how other cities, both in the United States and Europe, were addressing the same problem. Acknowledging that “plans for reducing the rates of Richmond are so involved with past plans of Richmond and other cities,” Wingo devoted an entire chapter to “an outline of work done in other cities.”⁹¹ Wingo examined infant and maternal health policy in New Haven, Connecticut; Syracuse, New York; the East End Maternity Hospital in London, England; and Aberdeen, Scotland. She noted that these localities possessed larger and more extensive educational campaigns than Richmond and that their public health facilities were used more than those in Richmond. These cities also had lower infant and maternal mortality rates than Richmond.

⁸⁹ Margaret Wingo was born in 1909 in Spartanburg, South Carolina. She received a bachelor’s degree in 1930 from Converse College in Spartanburg, North Carolina (Wingo, “A Study of the Infant and Maternal Mortality in Richmond, Virginia” (Master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932), 78).

⁹⁰ Wingo, 1–2, 12, and 14.

⁹¹ Wingo, 59.

Based on this comparative study, Wingo concluded that Richmond needed to increase health education for women, encourage use of public health facilities, and employ more public health nurses and medical social workers. She also noted that the problem was most severe in the African American community and recommended an increase in the number of African American nurses and medical facilities for African American women.⁹² By juxtaposing Richmond alongside other American and European cities, Wingo figuratively brought Richmond into dialogue with the nation and world, casting Richmond as a city with social welfare concerns and a need for professional social work just as relevant as any other city in the United States or world.

As noted in the previous section, Mary Elizabeth Powell sought to illustrate “the progress of Virginia toward the goal set by the most progressive states in their administration of Mothers’ Aid” in her thesis, “Mother’s Aid in Virginia: Its History and Administration.”⁹³ Based on the organization of her thesis, the ideal to which Virginia should aspire in its Mother’s Aid program might not have been that of another American city but of other nations.

Powell preceded her description of the Mother’s Aid program in Virginia with a chapter titled “Development of Mothers’ Aid in Foreign Counties.” Powell devoted special attention to mothers’ pensions in Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain (including peripheral discussion of Northern Ireland and Scotland), Italy, New Zealand (including peripheral discussion of Australia), the Soviet Union, and Sweden. What made

⁹² Wingo, 59–70

⁹³ Powell, iii.

these foreign examples noteworthy, for Powell, was that they were “realizing that the widow and her children have a claim on the state that differentiates her on behalf of her children, from other recipients of poor relief. To keep her home intact, seems to be the process of most progressive legislation.”⁹⁴ In this respect, the United States fell short. “[I]n her provisions for Mothers’ Aid,” Powell noted, “the United States does not compare favorably with European countries.”⁹⁵

Through her discussion of foreign mothers’ aid programs, Powell established mothers’ aid as a policy that addressed a universal human concern. The worldwide prevalence of mothers’ aid and the maternal and child welfare needs such programs addressed allowed Powell to bring her local situation, Virginia’s mothers’ aid program, into dialogue with similar programs the world over. Powell made the world relevant to her local environment and her local environment relevant to the world. Ultimately, she found in Europe an ideal for maternal and child welfare to which Virginia and the rest of the United States should aspire.

Helen Wharton Reed’s thesis, “Care of Women and Children in the Soviet Union,” provides one of the most astounding examples of the Richmond School’s engagement of the world through contemporary information because this document was based on Reed’s trip to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1937.⁹⁶ Reed toured Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov, and Kiev and observed social welfare

⁹⁴ Powell, 2–11 (quote p. 11).

⁹⁵ Powell, 12.

⁹⁶ Reed was born in 1896 in Clinton, Mississippi. She received her bachelor’s degree in 1909 from Lancaster College in Lancaster, Texas. Prior to attending the Richmond School, Reed did graduate work at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the University of South Carolina at Columbia and earned a secretarial certificate at Columbia University in New York City (Reed, “Care of Women and Children in the Soviet Union,” (Master’s thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938), 77).

policies and institutions directed at the needs of women and children.⁹⁷ Using her experience and awareness of the Soviet Union, Reed crafted a purposeful vision of what the Soviet Union had to offer the world in the field of social welfare.

Reed began her thesis with a brief summary of the early years of the Soviet Union and acknowledged the purges taking place at the time under Stalin. Despite “whatever one may think of” these atrocities, Reed asserted, “the fact remains that a valuable sociological experiment is taking place in the U. S. S. R. which merits the study of all those who are interested in the care and well being of women and children.”⁹⁸ She traveled to the Soviet Union in order to study this “valuable sociological experiment” and “to understand not only the underlying social ideology but also the methods being employed in this field.”⁹⁹ Reed claimed that she was “presenting the work with women and children in the Soviet Union as the Russians themselves interpret it,” supplementing her observations with secondary source material “taken from publications in the U. S. S. R. or from articles published or approved by The American Russian Institute of New York.”¹⁰⁰ Reed qualified her bold statements regarding the purpose and methodology of her study with a disclaimer: “I am not comparing the situation of the Soviet Union with that in similar fields in other countries. Nor am I attempting to evaluate the effectiveness of the Russian methods. That is beyond the scope of this paper and will be the theme of future studies.”¹⁰¹ Despite this cautionary statement, Reed did provide an implicit comparison. By determining the care of

⁹⁷ Reed, 2.

⁹⁸ Reed, 2.

⁹⁹ Reed, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Reed, 3. For Reed’s bibliography see Reed, 74–76.

¹⁰¹ Reed, 3.

women and children in the Soviet Union to be a “valuable sociological experiment,” requiring the attention and study of those in the maternal and child welfare field, she implied that the Soviet Union had something to offer the world, the United States, the South, and Richmond.

In her conclusion, Reed stressed that the Soviet Union’s progress should be measured against its pre-revolutionary past and enumerated the difficulties that the state had experienced in enacting its social experiment, including the size of the nation, civil war, famine, internal dissent, foreign threats, and conservative opinion. “But in spite of these difficulties,” Reed proclaimed, “the Soviet achievements have been spectacular.”¹⁰² “Spectacular” in Reed’s eyes because “there has been an amazing progress in education, public health and social services.”¹⁰³ The progress Reed observed included:

Social insurance, in addition to providing the usual protection against the financial effects of disability, sickness, old age and death, provides an elaborate system of rest homes, sanitariums and cultural activities. These are available to the workers without charge. Large sums are spent on housing, feeding of babies and camps for children. The working day and the working week have been shortened. Yearly vacations with full pay have been decreed for workers and innumerable opportunities for recreation have been created by the state. Women are taken care of during pregnancy and childbirth; they can receive advice on family limitation; their children are cared for in crèches and kindergartens while they work in the factories and fields. Infant and maternal mortality has decreased. Women are increasingly participating in the economic and social life of the country and a genuine feeling of equality between men and women had developed.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Reed, 71–72 (quote).

¹⁰³ Reed, 72.

¹⁰⁴ Reed, 72.

In order “to approve thoroughly the Russian scene” as Reed puts it, “one must accept State care of children as desirable.”¹⁰⁵ This and equality between the sexes was the basis of the Soviet progress Reed described. Reed did not have to provide an explicit comparison. Her point was clear: the Soviet Union was well on its way to alleviating social ills and the means to do was to establish state care of children and equality between the sexes.

The students at the Richmond School applied their knowledge of the nation and world to more personal matters as well. In November 1937, *The Atlas* published an article on a speech given by Grace Sloan Overton, the former chairman of The Marriage and Home Department of the National Council of Federated Church Women. Overton believed that marriage was a social welfare matter because it contributes to both personal and societal development and thus should be approached with intelligence and rationality. To prove her point, Overton conducted an international survey of the institution of marriage that included discussion of China, the United States, and Europe. She singled out Russia and Germany as the nations with the most rational and intelligent approaches to marriage, which would produce the healthiest citizens in the world. According to Overton, Russia was bettering its citizenry by temporarily raising children without the assistance of family life and Germany held motherhood in such great respect that children were accepted out of wedlock.¹⁰⁶

The examples given thus far illustrate how students and others affiliated with the Richmond School brought a contemporary awareness of the nation and

¹⁰⁵ Reed, 73.

¹⁰⁶ Grace Quinto, “Mrs. Overton Speaks on Marriage and the Home. Urges Students to Face Problems Rationally and Intelligently,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), November 17, 1937, 1 and 2.

the world to bear on local social welfare problems. In these examples it was the nation or world that had something relevant and important to say for the Richmond School and the South. That was not always the case though. The conversation could go both ways. Local examples might have something to contribute to the nation and world.

Clarence D. Stevens' educational and professional biography is that of an individual familiar and experienced with African American institutions and who had traveled within and beyond the United States. He was born in 1913 in Augusta, Maine, and received his bachelor's degree in 1924 from Boston University. Prior to attending the Richmond School, Stevens was a teacher at Salem High School in Salem, Massachusetts; an instructor, acting director, and director of the Hampton Institute's¹⁰⁷ School of Business in Hampton, Virginia; an assistant professor of English at Boston University; an assistant professor of English and economics at the University of Puerto Rico; and a member of the Commission of the Educational Survey of the Virgin Islands.¹⁰⁸

Stevens chose to write his thesis on the care of delinquent, dependent, and neglected African American girls at the Virginia Industrial School for Girls at Peak, Virginia, because this institution was exemplary. Stevens quoted from Margaret Reeves' book *Training Schools for Delinquent Girls* to highlight that only eight schools existed that were devoted to the care of African American girls and had entirely African American staffs, of which "the best known is the Virginia

¹⁰⁷ This is the present-day Hampton University, a HBCU (historically black college or university).

¹⁰⁸ Clarence D. Stevens, "The Institutional Care of Delinquent, Dependent, and Neglected Negro Girls in Virginia Since 1914," (Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1931), 4.

Industrial for Colored Girls.”¹⁰⁹ In fact, “the quality of the work done there as a whole compares favorably of that of the best schools for white girls,” Reeves noted.¹¹⁰ Stevens also cited Mrs. Arthur P. Falconer’s comments on the Virginia Industrial School to the Fosdick Commission during World War I. Falconer found the Virginia Industrial School to have “produced the largest results” and to have “been the most efficiently administered, of any funds which the Government has appropriated for like purposes anywhere in the United States.”¹¹¹ Stevens provided this praise for the Industrial School to support his assertion that “a study as to the reason for Virginia’s leadership in this field is well worth while.”¹¹² He proclaimed that “Virginia may well be proud of the place which it now occupies in the care of delinquent Negro girls.”¹¹³ According to Stevens, Virginia was a leader in the field of social welfare, especially with respect to the state’s work in the care of dependent, delinquent, and neglected African American girls. Virginia, particularly the Industrial School for Girls, was something for the nation and world to study, to look to, and to emulate.

Those at the Richmond School of Social Work did not see themselves and their work as limited to their local environment. Just as they used history to travel beyond their local surroundings—to envision themselves, their school, their region, their work, and their chosen profession as connected to or a part of or even the most recent evolution in something older, larger, greater than

¹⁰⁹ Stevens, 11–12 (quoting Margaret Reeves, *Training Schools for Delinquent Girls* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1929), 89).

¹¹⁰ Stevens, 12 (quoting Reeves, 89).

¹¹¹ Stevens, 12 (quoting *The Southern Workman* (August 1920), 326).

¹¹² Stevens, 12.

¹¹³ Stevens, 12.

themselves—they also used factual information to construct a contemporary awareness of the nation and world. These purposeful visions of what lay beyond their local surroundings allowed those at the Richmond School to depict the local as having national and international relevance and to make the nation and world relevant to the local. The staff and students of the Richmond School did more than construct purposeful visions through history and contemporary facts, they supported this figurative engagement of the nation and world with significant real world action. Through the individual actions of some of the students and staff, the Richmond School was made a part of national and international social welfare networks.

BEYOND VISIONS:

TRAVERSING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE NETWORKS

In addition to a figurative engagement of the nation and world, the students and staff at the Richmond School were also aware of and tapped into national and international networks concerned with social welfare and professional social work. Participation in these networks helped put the Richmond School and, by extension, the South “on the map.” This was a direct engagement of the nation and world that helped impart to the school and region some legitimacy and recognition while allowing the school to work with likeminded individuals to establish the legitimacy of social welfare and professional social work.

Surprisingly for a small southern institution, the Richmond School played a part in some significant moments in the development of professional social work

organizations. In 1928 at the first International Conference on Social Work in Paris, Luella Townley,¹¹⁴ listed as “Professor of Social Work, College of William and Mary, 827 West Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia” in the conference proceedings, represented the Richmond School of Social Work.¹¹⁵ At the conference, Elizabeth Macadam, secretary of the British Joint Council of Social Studies, listed the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health as one of twenty-three schools of social work in the United States.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, Richmond School affiliates missed the Second International Conference on Social Work in 1932 held in Frankfurt, Germany.¹¹⁷ Individuals connected to the Richmond School did attend the Third International Conference on Social Work held in London in 1936: those present included Arthur A. Guild, director of the Richmond Community Fund and lecturer at the Richmond School from 1928 to

¹¹⁴ Luella Townley came to the Richmond School as a professor of social work in 1926 and taught there until her death during the 1932–33 school year. She received both her bachelor’s and master’s degree at the University of Michigan and took courses at the New York School of Social Work. Prior to working at the Richmond School, Townley was an instructor at Western Reserve University, a visitor at the Cincinnati Associated Charities, director of the Rehabilitation Department of the Cincinnati Juvenile Court, and acting director of the Woman’s Division of the Detroit Police Department (*Bulletin...1925–26*, 4; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Catalogue: 1926–27* (Richmond, Va.), 4; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health including an Announcement of Academic Courses Given in Richmond, Catalogue: 1927–28* (Richmond, Va.), n.p.; *Bulletin...1928–29*, 5; *Bulletin...1929–30*, 7; *Bulletin...1930–31*, 5; *Bulletin...1931–32*, 6; and *Bulletin...1932–33*, 7).

¹¹⁵ “Liste des Membres de la Conférence,” in *Première Conférence Internationale du Service Social, Paris, 8–13 Juillet 1928*, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), I:94.

¹¹⁶ Elizabeth Macadam, “Les Écoles de Service Social,” in *Première Conférence Internationale du Service Social, Paris, 8–13 Juillet 1928*, 3 vols (Paris, 1929), II:16–38. The list starts on p. 32. Schools of social work in the United States are listed on pp. 35–36.

¹¹⁷ Janie Porter Barrett, the director of the Virginia Industrial School for Girls at Peaks Turnout, Virginia, did attend the Second International Conference on Social Work in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1932 (“Members of the Second International Conference of Social Work,” *Second International Conference of Social Work, Frankfurt am Main, 10.14. Juli 1932* (Baden, 1933), 765). Barrett and the Virginia Industrial School for Girls was the focus of Clarence Stevens’s thesis, “The Institutional Care of Delinquent, Dependent, and Neglected Negro Girls in Virginia Since 1914,” previously discussed on pp. 49–50.

1929 and from 1935 to 1939;¹¹⁸ June Purcell Guild, attorney, author of several articles and books on African Americans, director of a social work program at Virginia Union, and lecturer at the Richmond School from 1930 to 1933;¹¹⁹ Mrs. J. L. Ingram, whose husband served on the Local Advisory Board of the Richmond School from 1928 to 1933 and on the Board of Directors from 1933 to 1939;¹²⁰ and Mary Alice Riley of the Richmond Social Services Department, who was a field work supervisor for the Richmond School in 1937–38 at the Medical College of Virginia Dispensary.¹²¹

Representation at the International Conferences on Social Work gave the Richmond School global recognition. The school's presence on the international stage through conference attendance may have helped bolster the school's claim to the title of first school of social work in the South, which administrators liked to use as a source of pride and as a selling point in the course catalogs.¹²² In 1936 in an international survey of social work education, Alice Salomon, a key figure in

¹¹⁸ *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Announcements of School of Social Work and Public Health, Academic Division, Extension Division: 1928–29* (Richmond, Va.), 7; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Including Announcements of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health and the Richmond School of Art: 1935–36* (Richmond, Va.), 9; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Catalogue: Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, 1937–38* (Richmond, Va.), 6; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, Announcement of Courses in Social Work: 1938–39* (Richmond, Va.), 5.

¹¹⁹ See p. 25 and p. 25n50 of this paper.

¹²⁰ *Bulletin...1928–29*, 4; *Bulletin...1929–30*, 4; *Bulletin...1930–31*, 4; *Bulletin...1931–32*, n.p.; *Bulletin...1932–33*, 6; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, The College of William and Mary, Including the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Announcements: 1933–34* (Richmond, Va.), n.p.; *Bulletin...1934–35*, n.p.; *Bulletin...1935–36*, n.p.; *Bulletin, Richmond Division, The College of William and Mary, Including Announcements of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health and the Richmond School of Art, 1936–37* (Richmond, Va.), n.p.; *Bulletin...1937–38*, n.p.; and *Bulletin...1938–39*, n.p..

¹²¹ *Bulletin...1938–39*, 6. In the 1930s, the course catalogs would list the field work supervisors of the previous school year. That is why Riley's 1937–38 field work supervision is recorded in the 1938–39 course catalog.

"Members," in *Third International Conference on Social Work, London, 12–18 July, 1936: Conference Report* (London, 1938), 671–72 and 677.

¹²² See pp. 31–32 of this paper.

the International Conference on Social Work and the International Association of Schools of Social Work, described the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health founded in 1917 “as [the] first training school in the South.”¹²³ Scholars today dispute the Richmond School’s claim to being the first school of social work in the South, but, the Richmond School was recognized as such internationally.¹²⁴

Not only was the Richmond School of Social Work represented at the International Conference on Social Work, it also had a role in the formation of the American Association of Schools of Social Work (AASSW), the professional organization that would come to govern the standards of professional social work education in the United States.¹²⁵ In May 1919, the New York School of Social Work held an informal conference of schools of social work to discuss the development of a professional social work education organization. The recommendations of this conference were presented at the National Conference of Social Work held shortly thereafter in Atlantic City, New Jersey, which led to the establishment of the Association of Training Schools for Professional Social Work (later known as the American Association of Schools of Social Work). The Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health was represented at the New

¹²³ Salomon, 252.

¹²⁴ Elizabeth Wisner and Elna C. Green argue that Southern School of Social Science established in 1914 by Eleanor McMain of the New Orleans Kingsley House settlement was the first to provide training for professional social work. Tulane acquired this school in 1917 and created the Tulane University School of Social Work. Green also identifies another school of social work at Rice University dating back to 1916, which would have preceded the Richmond School of Social Work. (Green, “National Trends, Regional Differences, Local Circumstances: Social Welfare in New Orleans, 1870s–1920s,” in Green, ed., *Before the New Deal*, 92; Green, *This Business of Relief*, 132; and Wisner, 122.)

Salomon listed the Tulane University of Social Work as being founded in 1921 (Salomon, 230).
¹²⁵ See p. 22 of this paper.

York conference and was one of fifteen charter members of the new organization. It was notably the only Southern institution represented at the conference and in the organization at its start.¹²⁶ Being a charter member of the AASSW was a significant achievement for the Richmond School and one of which it boasted in its course catalogs in the mid 1930s.¹²⁷ This status as both founder and member of the United States' professional social work organization gave the Richmond School a role in the professionalization of social work and a source of legitimacy and authority, which can be extended to the region it represented as well.

Given the role the Richmond School played in the formation of the AASSW it is not surprising that some of the school's professors would attend the national conference of the organization. Over winter break during the 1933–34 school year, Dr. Franklin Johnson attended the annual meeting of the AASSW with Dr. Henry H. Hibbs, the Richmond School's director, in Philadelphia. Dr. Johnson also attended the AASSW meeting in New York over winter break

¹²⁶ Levy, 53–54. Levy listed the schools at the New York conference: Boston School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College, Carnegie Institute of Technology, New York School of Social Work, Ohio State University, Pennsylvania School for Social Service, Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, Smith College, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, University of Pittsburgh, University of Toronto, Western Reserve University, McGill University, and Dallas School of Civics and Philanthropy. McGill University and the Dallas School did not become charter members of the AASSW. The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and the Missouri School of Social Economy were not present at the New York Conference, but did become charter members of the AASSW (53–54).

In the above statement, I am not counting the Dallas School of Civics and Philanthropy as southern.

¹²⁷ This statement began appearing in the course catalogs in 1935–36 (*Bulletin... 1935–36*, 15). 1935 was also the year in which the AASSW mandated that all professional schools of social work must be affiliated with a university or college (Carlton, 19).

during the 1935–36 school year.¹²⁸ These conferences were an opportunity for Dr. Johnson to come into contact with fellow social work educators and professionals from all over the nation and an opportunity to renew professional and personal ties he established prior to coming to the Richmond School.

Like many of the faculty members at the Richmond School, Dr. Johnson had a rich and varied educational and professional biography prior to teaching in Richmond. Dr. Johnson received his bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago and his doctorate from Columbia University. He was director of the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto; director of the Civilian Relief, Foreign Division, of the American Red Cross; Professor of Sociology at Grinnell College; and Exchange Professor of Social Ethics at Harvard University before taking the position of Professor of Sociology and Supervisor of Social Research at the Richmond School in 1926.¹²⁹

Prior to becoming a Richmond School professor, Dr. Johnson had established a respectable record in social welfare and professional social work. His reputation and credentials may have helped lend him the credibility and authority necessary to have the work of his Senior Research Class published in the October 1932 edition of the *Monthly Labor Review*, a publication of the

¹²⁸ "Christmas Holidays to be Spent in a Variety of Ways by Faculty," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), December 15, 1933, 1 and "Faculty Frolics During Xmas," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), January 13, 1936, 3.

¹²⁹ Dr. Johnson taught at the Richmond School from 1926 to 1939. For the 1938–39 school year he served as a part-time lecturer. I did not find his name or biography in the 1925–26, 1926–27, or 1927–28 course catalogs, but his biographical listing in the 1931–32 and subsequent course catalogs state that he was a professor at the Richmond School beginning in 1926. (*Bulletin...1928–29*, 5; *Bulletin...1929–30*, 6; *Bulletin...1930–31*, 5; *Bulletin...1931–32*, 6; *Bulletin...1932–33*, 7; *Bulletin...1933–34*, 6; *Bulletin...1934–35*, 6; *Bulletin...1935–36*, 6; *Bulletin...1936–37*, n.p.; *Bulletin...1937–38*, 6; *Bulletin...1938–39*, 5.)

United States Department of Labor.¹³⁰ Such an article in a respected, national, government publication was sure to lend legitimacy to the Richmond School and the South in the field of social welfare and professional social work.

Aileen Shane is another professor whose conference attendance and prior educational and professional experiences played a significant role in her ability to integrate the Richmond School into national social welfare and professional social work networks. Shane came to the Richmond School as a Professor of Social Case Work in 1929 and became the Assistant Director of the Richmond School in 1934. Prior to coming to Richmond, Shane received her bachelor's degree from Converse College and her master's degree from the Smith College School of Social Work. She did additional course work at the New York School of Social Work and the University of Chicago. Her past work experience included being a visitor and general secretary at the Associated Charities of Columbia, South Carolina; secretary of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work; visitor for the United Charities of Chicago; and a fellow at the Institute for Child Guidance in New York City.¹³¹ Having lived, studied, and worked in both the North and South and having spent time in some of the centers of social work activity, such as Chicago and New York, meant that it was very likely that Shane

¹³⁰ "Research Class Does Work for the Government," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), December 1932, 1 and "Cost of Living: Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in Richmond, Va.," *Monthly Labor Review* 35 (October 1932): 972–986. Nineteen students from Dr. Johnson's class interviewed working women in Richmond regarding their incomes, budgets, and expenditures over the past year (972).

¹³¹ I did not find Shane listed in the 1928–29 or 1929–30 course catalogs, but her biographical listings in the 1930–31 and subsequent course catalogs state that she came to the Richmond School in 1929. (*Bulletin...1930–31*, 6; *Bulletin...1931–32*, 6; *Bulletin...1932–33*, 7; *Bulletin...1933–34*, 6; *Bulletin...1934–35*, 6; *Bulletin...1935–36*, 6; *Bulletin...1936–37*, n.p.; *Bulletin...1937–38*, 6; *Bulletin...1938–39*, 4; *Bulletin, Richmond Professional Institution, A Division of the College of William and Mary [1939–40]*, 8.)

possessed professional and even friendly ties with figures of national importance in social welfare and professional social work.

Shane was actively involved in national social welfare networks, and she helped bring the Richmond School and its students into those networks. Based on reports found in *The Atlas*, Shane frequently traveled when college was out of session. Her 1937 trip to the St. Louis AASSW meeting received significant attention in the student newspaper.¹³² Over winter break 1935–36, Shane was present at the AASSW meeting in New York with Dr. Johnson. While in New York, she also attended the National Committee of Mental Hygiene meeting and visited the Joint Vocational Service to look for job openings in social work for the students at the Richmond School.¹³³ Shane's search for social work job opportunities may provide a clue as to how Richmond School alumni could be found in professional social work positions all over the United States.

Students came to the Richmond School from all over the South as well as states elsewhere in the United States. The Richmond School described itself as a southern institution, which it was, but it also had national appeal, which the students and staff considered a significant achievement.¹³⁴ According to *The Atlas's* placement news, Richmond School alumni could be found in professional social work positions in the South, North, and elsewhere in the United States—another achievement that the students and staff at the Richmond School held in

¹³² "Miss Shane to Attend Social Work Meeting. Leaves Thursday for St. Louis to Attend Important Conference," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), January 12, 1937, 1 and 4.

¹³³ "Faculty Frolics," *The Atlas*, 3.

¹³⁴ See Appendix IV for a list of states contributing students to the Richmond School as well as information on the course catalogs, promotional literature, and *Atlas* coverage of the enrollment.

high regard.¹³⁵ Shane's visit to the Joint Vocational Service in New York reveals that at least one staff member was actively seeking to place Richmond School graduates in professional social work positions anywhere they were available. This is another instance in which a faculty member's presence in national social welfare networks also placed the Richmond School into those same networks. As alumni circulated throughout the United States, the Richmond School and the South were drawn further into national social welfare networks.

The Richmond School further benefited from Shane's place in national social welfare and professional social work networks because, on at least two occasions reported in *The Atlas*, she was instrumental in bringing nationally known social welfare and social work professionals to the Richmond School. In 1935, Christine C. Robb, the executive secretary of the American Association of Social Workers, "nationally known in the field of Social Work, while visiting in Richmond was induced by Miss Shane to speak to the classes in Case Work and Public Health Nursing."¹³⁶ The following year, in 1936, Beatrice Levey, who had trained social work students at the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago and the Smith College School of Social Work, had led several seminars on supervision at the regional meetings of the Family Welfare Association of America, and was currently the head of the Training District of the Family Service Bureau of Chicago (formerly the United Charities of Chicago), was a guest of Shane and led seminars at the Richmond School for field work

¹³⁵ See Appendix IV for a list of states where Richmond School alumni found work as well as *Atlas* articles on graduate placement news.

¹³⁶ "Miss Robb Speaks," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), December 18, 1935, 4.

supervisors during her visit.¹³⁷ Shane provided a vital link between national figures in social welfare and professional social work and the Richmond School, its students, and its staff.

Individuals did not always have to leave the Richmond School to attend important conferences. Sometimes the conferences, and the national figures such meetings attracted, came to Richmond. This was the case in 1934 and 1937 when Richmond served as the host city for the Virginia State Conference of Social Work. Unfortunately, *The Atlas's* coverage of the 1934 conference is sparse. The student publication does reveal that social casework students attended the conference and that two faculty members held significant administrative roles in the conference: Shane served as vice president and Frank Davis¹³⁸ as the executive secretary.¹³⁹ The coverage of the 1937 conference is far more detailed. The student newspaper reported that “outstanding leaders in the field of social work from various sections of the United States will be in attendance,” including Elizabeth M. Clark of the Indianapolis Children’s Aid Society, Dr. C. C. Carstens of the Child Welfare League of America, Agnes Van Driel of the United States Social Service Board in Washington, D.C., Dr. Robert S. Wilson of the National Travelers Aid Society, Bessie Trout of the New York Children’s Aid Society, Dr. H. W. Newell of the Baltimore Mental Hygiene Clinic,

¹³⁷ “Miss Beatrice Levey Visits Miss Shane Here,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), May 4, 1936, 4.

¹³⁸ Frank Preston Davis was a lecturer at the Richmond School, starting in 1935–36. He was also the executive secretary of the Virginia Children’s Home Society (*Bulletin... 1935–36*, 9; *Bulletin... 1936–37*, 9; *Bulletin... 1937–38*, 20; *Bulletin... 1938–39*, 5; *Bulletin... 1939–40*, 11).

¹³⁹ “Social Workers to Attend Annual Meeting,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), April 13, 1934, 1 and 4.

and Elwood Street, director of the Washington, D.C. Community Chest.¹⁴⁰ These conferences provided the staff and students at the Richmond with the opportunity to interact with social welfare and social work professionals from all over the United States.

Richmond School faculty not only attended professional conferences; sometimes they were participants as well. In 1938, the sixty-second annual convention of the American Association on Mental Deficiency was held in Richmond, bringing “many prominent people in the field of mental deficiency and psychiatry” to the Richmond School, including Dr. F. J. Wells, the head psychologist at the Boston Psychiatric Hospital and assistant professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, and Dr. Arnold Gesell, director of the Clinic of Child Development and professor of child hygiene at the Yale University School of Medicine.¹⁴¹ Professor Martha Jaeger¹⁴² attended the conference, where she hosted a round table discussion on mental hygiene and critiqued Dr.

¹⁴⁰ “Social Work Conference to be Held Here. Study Groups to Meet in School; Students to Act as Ushers,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), March 24, 1937, 1. I based the group affiliations off of the following sources: “Visiting Lecturers at the School of Social Work and Public Health,” in *Bulletin, Richmond Division, College of William and Mary: Some Views of the Buildings of the Richmond Division of the College of William and Mary and Illustrations of Student Activities [1938]*, (Richmond, Va.), n.p. [This is an undated photograph and caption.], “Program. Closing Exercises, June 1929” in *Bulletin...1929–30*, n.p. [Elwood Street addressed the alumni luncheon.], and Susan D. Steinwall, “Carstens, Christian Carl,” in Walter I. Trattner, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America* (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1986), 170–72.

¹⁴¹ “Miss Jaeger on Program at Convention. Many Authorities in Field of Mental Deficiency Attend Meeting,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), May 4, 1938, 1.

¹⁴² Martha H. Jaeger received her bachelor’s degree at Western Reserve University and her master’s degree at Columbia University. Prior to coming to the Richmond School, she was a doctoral candidate at Columbia University; high school teacher; an instructor at the College for Women in Cleveland, Ohio, and Montclair Teachers College; director of the Industrial Department of the YWCA in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, and the Education Department at the YWCA in Chicago, Illinois; was a social worker at the Worcester State Hospital in Worcester, Massachusetts, and the Mental Hygiene Institute in Montclair, New Jersey. She came to the Richmond School in 1933 as a Professor of Psychology and Mental Hygiene in 1933 (*Bulletin...1933–34*, 7; *Bulletin...1934–35*, 7; *Bulletin...1935–36*, 7; *Bulletin...1936–37*, n.p.; *Bulletin...1937–38*, 6; *Bulletin...1938–39*, 4).

Edgar A. Doll, director of the Department of Research at the Training School in Vineland, New Jersey, and his presentation on the Vineland Social Maturity Scale.¹⁴³ The Richmond School was plugged into national social welfare networks through its staff's professional relationships and conference attendance. When a staff member, representing the school at a conference, was able to actively participate in the meeting and critically engage fellow social work professionals, the Richmond School's participation in these national networks was made more significant. This active participation and critical engagement was a way for the Richmond School to assert its presence in these networks and lay claim to a place of its own.

Conferences and the professional and friendly ties of the Richmond School's faculty brought guest speakers from outside of the state and region to the school, but these were not the only occasions the school had guests. Additional guest speakers and lecturers from all over the United States came to the Richmond School. This was a point of pride, featured in the school's promotional literature. The *Book of Views*, published by the Richmond School in April 1938, included an undated photograph of "Visiting Lecturers at the School of Social Work and Public Health." The guest lecturers featured included some familiar faces from the 1937 Virginia Conference of Social Work, such as Elizabeth M. Clark, Agnes Van Driel, Dr. Robert S. Wilson, Bessie Trout, and Dr. H. W. Newell, and some new faces, such as Paul Kirby of the Bureau of Public Welfare in Washington, D.C., and Isabelle K. Carter of the Maryland State Board

¹⁴³ "Miss Jaeger on Program at Convention," 1 and 5.

of Public Welfare.¹⁴⁴ The program for the school's graduation exercises was often included in the course catalogs. These programs featured additional guest speakers, including the Ellwood Street, a 1937 Virginia Conference of Social Work attendee and visitor; Sherrand Ewing, the director of the National Travelers' Aid Society; Paul T. Beisser, president of the Maryland Conference of Social Workers and general secretary of the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society in Baltimore, Maryland; Dr. Henry W. Thurston of the New York School of Social Work; and Dr. George S. Stevenson, director of the Division of Community Clinics of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.¹⁴⁵ As a selling point to prospective students, it was important to the administrators of the Richmond School to advertise the school as a destination for these figures. By visiting and taking part in the Richmond School's activities these national figures were imparting some of their own importance and respect to the school—a gesture the Richmond School readily accepted in its efforts to establish legitimacy.

Students were also attending and even participating in conferences as well. In 1934, three students from the Richmond School traveled to Washington, D.C., to attend the American Country Life Association's national conference. Katheryn Browing, a Richmond School student, led a discussion group titled "Changes in the Tennessee Valley."¹⁴⁶ Then in 1938, four Richmond School students attended the Southern Conference for Human Welfare held in

¹⁴⁴ *Books of Views [1938]*, n.p.

¹⁴⁵ "Program, Closing Exercises, June 1929," in *Bulletin... 1929–30*, n.p. ; "Program, Closing Exercises, June 1931," in *Bulletin... 1931–32*, n.p. ; "Program, Closing Exercises, June 1932," in *Bulletin... 1933–33*, n.p. ; "Program, Closing Exercises, June 1933," in *Bulletin... 1933–34*, n.p. ; "Program, Closing Exercises, June 1939," in *Bulletin... 1939–40*, n.p.

¹⁴⁶ "Students to Attend Convention. Katheryn Browing Leads Discussion Group," *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), November 14, 1934, 1.

Birmingham, Alabama. *The Atlas* reported that “there were many of the South’s leading educators, religious leaders, government officials, and others who came in the interest of public health, child labor, race relations, prison reform, farm tenancy, suffrage and constitutional rights, housing, credit, and freight differentials.”¹⁴⁷

In the early twentieth century, networks of social welfare professionals existed at the both the national and international levels. The written record of the Richmond School reveals that through professional organization development and membership, conference attendance and participation, individual professional and personal relationships, enrollment figures, and graduate placement that the Richmond School was a part of these networks, understanding their importance and actively seeking to be a part of them. The actions of the Richmond School, its staff, and its students were working to root the Richmond School, and by extension, the South, in the field of social welfare and professional social work. Likewise, by participating in these national and international social welfare and professional social work networks the Richmond School, its staff, and its students were working with their peers to legitimate social welfare and professional social work.

CONCLUSION

Faced with uncertainty within the field of social welfare, the fledgling status of professional social work, and the stigma attached to the South, the staff and students at the Richmond School of Social Work in the early twentieth century

¹⁴⁷ “Students Describe Trip to Birmingham Conference,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), December 2, 1938, 3 and “Light Shed on Southern Problems. Campus Representatives Report on Birmingham Conference,” *The Atlas* (Richmond, Va.), December 16, 1938, 1 and 4 (quote).

felt compelled to establish the legitimacy of the school. However, not every action or word written was consciously made with legitimacy in mind. Instead, the written record of the Richmond School reveals that the legitimacy of social welfare, professional social, the South, and the Richmond School were underlying concerns, occupying the attention of the students and staff. Motivated, in part, by these concerns to justify their field, profession, region, and school, the staff and students at the Richmond School engaged the nation and world both figuratively and in reality. They used knowledge of the past and the present to write themselves into social welfare traditions and modern professional conversations, to make a place for themselves and to argue for the relevancy of their own professional activities in the wider world. The staff and students at the Richmond School supported their figurative engagement of the nation and world with significant real world actions. The school, its staff, and students were active participants in national and international social welfare and professional social work networks as evidenced by professional organization membership and development, conference attendance and participation, student enrollment, graduate placement, and visiting lecturers. The Richmond School staff and students strove to make their institution and region as relevant and important as other figures, institutions, and locations in the quest to alleviate social ills and establish social work as a valid profession. The students and staff drawn to the Richmond School may very well have believed this to be true given the purposeful visions they constructed around the school and the way they asserted themselves in national and international networks. They may even have gained

some acceptance and recognition given the manner in which the school, its staff's, and its students' presence and participation in these networks was accepted and reciprocated. Held within the written record of the Richmond School of Social Work lies an unexpected account of intersecting local, regional, national, and global histories that adds enhanced definition and detail to the picture of social welfare history in the United States.

APPENDIX I

Articles published in *The Atlas* featuring the history of the Richmond School of Social Work and/or the College of William and Mary:

1. Margaret Sycle, "Our Background," May 1930, 3.
2. "The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Beginnings," December 1931, 3.
3. "The College of William and Mary in Virginia: (Continued from December)," March 1932, 3.
4. "The College of William and Mary in Virginia: (Continued from March)," April 1932, 3.
5. "Richmond Division. The College of William and Mary. Part One.," March 1933, 3.
6. "Richmond Division. The College of William and Mary. Part Two.," May 1933, 2.
7. "The Richmond Division Evidences Marked Growth Since Its Establishment," January 19, 1934, 1 and 6.
8. "Atmosphere at the Richmond Division," January 19, 1934, 2.
9. "Human History of the Local Division," April 10, 1935, 1–4.

APPENDIX II

The following is a list of courses, organized by school year, with course descriptions that include a historical component. The school years refer to course catalogs and page references are provided in parentheses. Courses marked with an asterisk (*) indicate courses that did not have a course description for that school year, but did at some point have a course description that included a historical component.

1917–1918

- Principles and Types of Social Work (16)
- The Modern City and Its Problems (18)
- Feeble-mindedness and Delinquency (19)
- Heredity and Eugenics (21)

1918–1919

- Probation and the Work of Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts (21)

1919–1920

- General Introduction to Social Work (15)
- Probation and the Work of Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts (16)
- Industrial Welfare (13)
- Criminology and Penology (19)

1920–1921

- Industrial Welfare (13)

1922–1923

- Philosophy of Social and Community Work (13)
- Juvenile Courts and Probation (13)
- Industrial Welfare: Community Work in Mill Villages (16)

1923–1924

- Juvenile Courts and Probation (14)

1924–1925

- Juvenile Courts and Probation (16)

1925–1926

- History and Principles of Physical Education (20)
- Theory and History of Play (22)

1928–1929

- Labor and Industry (19–20)
- Social Welfare Administration (37)

- 1929–1930
 Labor and Industry (34)
 Problems of the Modern City (34)*
 History and Literature of Physical Training (46)
- 1930–1931
 Labor and Industry (35)
 The Family (36)
- 1931–1932
 Labor and Industry (36)*
 The Family (36)
- 1932–1933
 Labor Problems (33/37/66)*
 The Family (38/67)*
- 1933–34
 Labor and Industry (62)*
 Problems of the Modern City (62)*
 The Family (62)
- 1934–1935
 Labor Problems (59/67)*
 Problems of the Modern City (67)*
 The Family (68)*
- 1935–1936
 Problems of the Modern City (84)
 Labor and Industry (84)
 Health and Disease (88)
 Community Recreation (91)
- 1936–1937
 Labor Problems (71)
 Delinquency (71)
 The Family (71)
 Health and Disease (73)
 Mental Hygiene. Personality Development (75)
 Community Recreation (77)
- 1937–1938
 Community Recreation (23)
 Labor Problems and Labor Laws (42/53)
 History of Social Thought (47)
 The Family (49)
 Delinquency (50)

1938–1939

- Labor and Industry (23/78)
- Delinquency (23/79)
- The Family (24)
- History of Social Thought (24)

1939–40

- History of Social Thought (91/94)
- The Family (93)
- History of Social Work (94)
- Labor and Industry (94/96)*
- Delinquency (94)

The following is a list of courses, organized by school year, with course descriptions that include a comparative component or regional, national, or international component. The school years refer to course catalogs and page references are provided in parentheses. Courses marked with an asterisk (*) indicate courses that did not have a course description for that school year, but did at some point have a course description that included a comparative component or regional, national, or international component.

1917–1918

- Folk Dances and Games (24)

1918–1919

- Social Legislation (22)

1919–1920

- Industrial Welfare (13)

1920–1921

- Industrial Welfare (13)
- Folk Dancing (24)*
- Folk Games (24)*

1922–1923

- Folk Dancing (15)*
- Industrial Welfare: Community Work in Mill Villages (16)
- Folk Dancing – Singing Games (18)

1923–1924

- Social Legislation (14)*

1924–1925

- Juvenile Courts and Probation (16)

1925–1926

- Folk Dancing (15)*
- Folk Dancing – Singing Games (21)
- 1926–1927
 - Social Legislation (20)
- 1928–1929
 - Labor and Industry (19–20)
 - Legal Aspects of Social Work (21)
 - Social Legislation (35)
- 1929–1930
 - Labor and Industry (34)
 - Social Legislation (35)
 - Folk and National Dances (44)
 - Story Telling (47)
 - State and Municipal Government (79)
- 1930–1931
 - Social Influence of Modern Literature (34)
 - Labor and Industry (35)
 - Social Legislation (36/74)
 - Folk and National Dancing (44)
 - State and Municipal Government (74)
- 1931–1932
 - Social Influence of Modern Literature (36)
 - Labor and Industry (36)*
 - Social Legislation (36)
- 1932–1933
 - Labor Problems (33/37/66)*
 - Social Influence of Modern Literature (33/37/66)*
 - State and Municipal Government (35)*
- 1933–34
 - Labor and Industry (62)*
 - Social Legislation (63)*
- 1934–1935
 - Labor Problems (59/67)*
 - Social Legislation (61/69)*
 - Contemporary Schools of Psychology (66)*
- 1935–1936
 - Comparative Schools of Psychology (81)
 - Labor and Industry (84)

1936–1937

- Labor Problems (71)
- Folk and National Dances (65)*
- Contemporary Schools of Psychology (67)
- Folk and National Dances (78)

1937–1938

- Regional Resources and Dilemmas (22/42)
- Folk and National Dances (24)
- Contemporary Social Theory (48)*
- Contemporary Schools of Psychology (48)
- Contemporary Social Theories and Movements (49)*
- Folk and National Dances (55)

1938–1939

- Labor and Industry (23/78/80)
- Folk and National Dances (22)
- Contemporary Social Theory (24/78)
- Contemporary Social and Economic Movements (25/79)
- Regional Resources and Dilemmas (79)

1939–40

- Contemporary Social Thought (91)
- Labor and Industry (94/96)
- Regional Resources and Dilemmas (95)
- Contemporary Social and Economic Movements (95/96)

APPENDIX III

The following is a list, derived from the twenty-nine theses surveyed for this study, of theses that are entirely devoted to the history of a social welfare institution, movement, trend, or topic or contain a chapter on the history of a social welfare institution, movement, trend, or topic.

1. Hattie Cowart Carter. "The Development of the Clinic Movement in the United States." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
2. Thelma Manley Charles. "The Development of Poor Relief Law in Virginia from 1619–1930." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
3. Lucy V. Corr. "Origin and Development of the Juvenile Court in Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1933.
4. Helen Miriam Harrison. "The Family Welfare Society of Atlanta, Georgia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1934.
5. Ester Hollowell. "Trends in the Work of Child Caring Institutions in Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
6. Charlotte Beverley Hoy. "The Social Service Bureau of Petersburg and Its Predecessors: A Record of its Development and Work Including the Other Social Agencies of Petersburg, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.
7. Leah James. "Public Welfare Administration in Virginia and Some of Its Major Problems." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1934.
8. Lucy Winston Kemper. "The Development of Child Guidance Clinics in the United States." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
9. Virginia C. Lee, "The Development of the Social Service Bureau of Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.
10. Lawrence Olnick. "Negro Male Juvenile Delinquency in Richmond: Principle Facts in the Delinquency of Seventy-Eight Negro Boys on Probation in the Richmond Juvenile Court During 1936." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.
11. Virginia Pfohl. "A Review of Child Welfare Legislation in North Carolina from 1789–1937." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.

12. Mary Elizabeth Powell. "Mother's Aid in Virginia: Its History and Administration." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935.
13. Rebecca Grier Randolph. "Child Welfare Legislation in Virginia from 1792 to 1934." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1936.
14. Anne Hemphill Rogers. "The Bureau of Catholic Charities: A Treatment of the Developmental History and Work." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935.
15. Frances Virginia Salter. "The History of the Virginia Colonial Children Legislation from 1619 to 1792." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
16. Grace Stafford Sheffey. "Negroes and Tuberculosis: A Study of the Patients in the Colored Tuberculosis Pavilion of the City Home, Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935.
17. Mary Frances Shelburne. "A Brief History of the Family Service Society of Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1932.
18. Josephine Taylor. "Delinquent Negro Children: A Study of the Cases Committed to the Children's Bureau of the Virginia State Department of Public Welfare in 1935." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1937.
19. Jacquelin Lee Warner. "The History of the Children's Home Society of Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938
20. Margaret Elizabeth Whitesel. "The Development and Work of the Children's Bureau of the State Department of Public Welfare of Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1937.

APPENDIX IV

1. Students came to the Richmond School from the following states:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama | 14. Mississippi |
| 2. Arizona | 15. Missouri |
| 3. California | 16. New Jersey |
| 4. Connecticut | 17. New York |
| 5. District of Columbia | 18. North Carolina |
| 6. Florida | 19. Ohio |
| 7. Georgia | 20. Oklahoma |
| 8. Illinois | 21. Pennsylvania |
| 9. Kansas | 22. South Carolina |
| 10. Kentucky | 23. Tennessee |
| 11. Louisiana | 24. Texas |
| 12. Maryland | 25. Virginia |
| 13. Massachusetts | 26. West Virginia |

Note: This list was generated from the course catalogs, which often included a register of students and list of degrees conferred that included where each student came from, and The Atlas articles listed below.

2. Richmond School alumni found work in the following states:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Alabama | 11. New York |
| 2. Connecticut | 12. North Carolina |
| 3. District of Columbia | 13. Ohio |
| 4. Florida | 14. Pennsylvania |
| 5. Georgia | 15. Rhode Island |
| 6. Kentucky | 16. South Carolina |
| 7. Louisiana | 17. Tennessee |
| 8. Maryland | 18. Virginia |
| 9. Missouri | 19. West Virginia |
| 10. New Jersey | |

Note: This list was generated from The Atlas articles listed below.

3. The following course catalogs and promotional publications have statements regarding where the students at the Richmond School come from.

1. *Bulletin... 1930–31* (28)
2. *Social Work as a Profession, Bulletin: Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, May 1935* (6)
3. *Social Work as a Profession, Bulletin: Richmond Division, College of William and Mary, May 1936* (6)

4. The following *Atlas* articles discuss where the Richmond School students come from and where they go after graduation.

1. "Increased Enrollment at Richmond Division," October 20, 1933, 1.
2. "1933 Seniors and Graduates Well Placed," October 20, 1933, 3.
3. "On Record As Doing..." November 29, 1933, 3.
4. "Promotions Among Graduates," January 19, 1934, 1.
5. "Human History of the Local Division," April 10, 1934, 2 and 4.
6. "The New Enrollment," October 5, 1934, 1.
7. "Last Year's Seniors Out in the World, Working Hard," October 5, 1934, 1.
8. "W. & M. Grads Win Positions in other States – School of Social Work Graduates Find Interesting Work in Social Agencies," November 17, 1936, 1 and 3.
9. "Stress Value of Graduate Work," December 7, 1936, 3.
10. "Seniors of 1937 Holding Many Posts – Richmond Division Graduates Listed in Many Positions," December 15, 1937, 1.
11. "38 Grads Enter Many Fields," October 21, 1938, 1.

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The course catalogs of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health from 1917 to 1940. They are cited under the title *Bulletin*...followed by the school year. These are available at the Special Collections and Archives at the James Branch Cabell Library at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia.

The student newspaper of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, *The Atlas*, which was published from 1929 to 1939. The entire run of the newspaper is available at the Special Collections and Archives at the James Branch Cabell Library at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia.

The minutes of the board of directors of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health, which are available at the Special Collections and Archives at the James Branch Cabell Library at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia.

The conference proceedings of the first and third International Conference on Social Work:

Première Conférence Internationale du Service Social, Paris, 8–13 Juillet 1928. 3 vols. Paris, 1929.

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- Corr, Lucy V. "The Origin and Development of the Juvenile Court in Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1933.
- Crosby, Lucille Calvert. "Children in the City Home: A Study of Eighty Children in the City Home of Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1933.
- Hankins, Mary Coleman. "The Growth of Public Outdoor Relief in Richmond, Virginia." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1935.
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- Hobson, Raleigh Colston. "Public Welfare in Petersburg: A Record of a Small City's Attempt to Meet Its Welfare Needs, with Special Reference to a Wider Application of Some of the Principles Emerging from Its Experience." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.
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- Reed, Helen Wharton. "Care of Women and Children in the Soviet Union." Master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1938.
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